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NOBELTUS NIPPOS



INTRODUCTION
to Text

NOTE

THESE COURSES

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CORNELIUS NEPOS

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CORNELIUS NEPOS

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

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THIRD EDITION

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PART I. INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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P R E F A C E.

ALTHOUGH Cornelius Nepos has often been edited as a classic of the Augustan age, the present edition does not pretend to be anything more than a school-book. The notes are intended for two classes of persons—learners and teachers. For the first I have thought it necessary to give such help as would enable them to learn the lesson with the assistance of a grammar and a dictionary. I may seem to some to have translated too many words into English, but experience has convinced me that a boy slowly learns the art of picking the right word out of a number given in a dictionary, and that translation into idiomatic English cannot be too much insisted upon from the first. For the teacher I have done my best to correct the mistakes of Nepos in history, and to notice his departure in language from classical usage. I have constantly referred to two books which are sure to be within the reach of every teacher, Madvig's Latin Grammar and Grote's History of Greece.

I must express my obligations to the edition of Nepos by Nipperdey with German notes, which leaves nothing to be desired as a school-book.

ETON : *May*, 1868.

The third edition of this book has been very carefully revised by Mr. W. R. Inge, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who has added two indices—one of names and places, and one of grammatical notes.

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INTRODUCTION.

CORNELIUS NEPOS was a friend and contemporary of Cicero, Catullus, and Atticus. Cicero writes to Atticus (Epist. ad Attic. 16. 5.): 'Nepotis Epistulam exspecto. Cupidus ille meorum? qui ea quibus maxime γαυριῶ legenda non putet? Et ais, μετ' ἀμύμονα. Tu vero ἀμύμων. Ille quidem ἄμβροτος.' The meaning of the last clause evidently is that Atticus had praised Nepos, but said that he came after the blameless one, i.e. Cicero himself. Cicero replies that Atticus is the blameless one, that is, the best of mortals, but that Nepos is divine. This will seem exaggerated praise to those who regard him merely as the writer of a dull school-book. Lactantius (Instit. 3. 15, 13) quotes a passage from the first book of the letters of Nepos to Cicero, and Macrobius (Sat. 2. 1) quotes another passage from the second book of the letters of Cicero to Nepos.

The first epigram of Catullus runs thus—

‘Quoi dono lepidum novum libellum
Arida modo pumice expolitum?
Corneli, tibi: Namque tu solēbas
Meas esse aliquid putare nugas;
Jam tum, quum ausus es unus Italarum
Omne aevum tribus explicare chartis
Doctis, Juppiter, et laboriosis.
Quare habe tibi, quidquid hoc libelli est
Qualecumque; quod o Patrona Virgo
Plus uno maneat perenne saeclo.’

We know that this is addressed to Nepos from an imitation of Ausonius—

‘Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?
Veronensis ait poeta quondam
Inventoque dedit statim Nepoti.
.
.
.
.
.
Inveni (trepidæ silete nugæ)
Nec doctum magis, et magis benignum,
Quam quem *Gallia* præbuit Catullo?’

The last line shews that Nepos was born in Gallia Cisalpina; and Pliny, Hist. Nat. 3. 22, calls him ‘Padi accola.’

Mommsen (Hermes iii. 1. p. 62) has made it probable that his birthplace was Pavia. An older theory was that he was born at Hostilia, now Ostiglia, a ‘vicus’ dependent on Verona. The people of Ostiglia set up a statue to him in 1868.

Nepos was probably still alive in 25 or 24 B.C., but not much later.

He is reported by various ancient writers to have written the following works:—

1. *Chronica*; quoted by A. Gellius and Solinus, and referred to by Catullus in the lines quoted above.
2. *Exemplorum Libri*; quoted by Charisius and A. Gellius.
3. *De Viris Illustribus*; mentioned by Gellius, Macrobius, and Servius.
4. Lives of Cato and Cicero.

He thus appears to have been a literary man of considerable knowledge and attainments; and if we had nothing of him remaining we might now be lamenting the loss of a great author. But the judgment of posterity is wiser than that of contemporaries and friends.

The first edition of the book which we possess under the name of Nepos was published at Venice in 1471, under the title of

Aemilii Probi de Vita Excellentium: it was attributed to him on the strength of a dedication addressed to Theodosius, ending thus—

‘Si rogat auctorem, paullatim detege nostrum
Tum domino nomen, me sciat esse Probum.’

Lambinus, who published his edition in 1569, was the first to maintain that it was written by Cornelius Nepos, and there are few now who will dispute this opinion.

It is supposed that the original work, *de Viris Illustribus*, consisted of sixteen books, in the following order:—

- I. De regibus exterarum gentium.
- II. De regibus Romanorum.
- III. De excellentibus ducibus exterarum gentium.
- IV. De excellentibus ducibus Romanorum.
- V. De juris consultis Graecis.
- VI. De juris consultis Romanis.
- VII. De oratoribus Graecis.
- VIII. De oratoribus Romanis.
- IX. De poetis Graecis.
- X. De poetis Latinis.
- XI. De historicis Graecis.
- XII. De historicis Latinis.
- XIII. De philosophis Graecis.
- XIV. De philosophis Latinis.
- XV. De grammaticis Graecis.
- XVI. De grammaticis Latinis.

This arrangement (which I copy from Nipperdey) is imaginary, but it has much to recommend it.

Nepos is a most untrustworthy historian. It is often difficult to disentangle the wilful complications of his chronology; and he tries to enhance the value of what he is relating by a foolish exaggeration, which is only too transparent to deceive. Nevertheless his style is clear, elegant, and lively, although in some respects it departs from Augustan usage, and at other times is

marred by an affected euphuism ; he touches on most points of interest in Grecian history, and for that reason is likely to be always popular as a school-book. He should be judged not as an original author but as a *vulgarisateur* who did much to make Greek learning popular amongst his fellow-citizens. We must not be surprised if all the writings which were inspired at Rome by Attic culture were not as good as Cicero's.

Nepos is not an original authority for any of the events which he describes, except in the life of his friend and contemporary Atticus. For the other lives he borrowed his information, often in a hasty and careless way (the truth of his remark in the Preface, as to his '*festinatio ut ea explicem quae exorsus sum*,' is too apparent throughout), from the best known historians of their respective times : Thucydides for the Peloponnesian war ; Xenophon's Hellenica for the period from the end of that war to the battle of Mantinea ; Theopompus for the same period ; Timaeus for Sicilian, Dinon for Persian history ; and Polybius for the lives of Hamilcar and Hannibal, for which he also used the obscure writers Sosilus and Silenus. He also used the Panegyric of Agésilas, a work falsely ascribed to Xenophon, and the work of Sulpicius Blitho, of whom nothing is known.

There have been many excellent editions of Nepos. Lambinus first vindicated for these lives their true authorship. Cellarius was the first who thoroughly cleared up all their historical, geographical, and antiquarian allusions (Lips. 1689). Among the moderns Karl Nipperdey is well known for his numerous writings on our author.

CHIEF PECULIARITIES IN THE STYLE OF NEPOS.

THE Latin of Nepos, though differing in many respects from that of Cicero, is sufficiently in accordance with the manner of the classical writers to have established these Lives as a work of the golden age in the judgment of the best critics. Most of the departures from Augustan usage are pointed out, as they occur, in the Notes; it may be useful however to subjoin a brief classification of those peculiarities and mannerisms which appear most frequently.

I. Archaisms.

(a) Gerundives and gerunds in -iundus for -iendus; the usual, but not the universal, form in Nep.

(b) 'Fungor' and 'potior' with accusative, Eumenes 3. 4; Datames 1. 2.

(c) Datives of 4th declension in -u for -ui. See note on Alcibiades 4. 5.

(d) 'Totae' for 'toti' (dat. sing.), found also in Plaut.; and 'alterae' for 'alteri,' also in Ter.

(e) Use of some old-Latin words and forms: e.g. 'parserat' for 'pepercerat'; dispalor; accredo, Poenicus; Acheruns; apprime; and possibly 'intuor' for 'intueor,' Chabrias 3. 3.

II. Mannerisms.

(a) Frequent use of the present participle, where the best writers use 'cum' with subj. or some other periphrasis. See note on Themistocles 7. 1.

(b) Perf. subjunctive in consecutive clauses used more frequently than in Cic. or Livy.

(c) Indefinite subj. very frequent. See note on Cimon 4. 3.

(d) Impersonal verbs used very frequently. See note on Miltiades 4. 5.

(e) Omission of pronouns, often causing some obscurity. See note on Pelopidas 4. 3.

(f) Useless departure from the regular order of words in a sentence. Cf. Epaminondas 6. 4, 'auxilio Lacedaemonii'; Pausanias 3. 3, 'petentibus conveniundi'; Alcibiades 1. 1, 'quid natura'; Dion 6. 2, 'gravissimum parens vulnus'; Datames 1. 2, 'paterna ei ut.'

(g) Frequent change of tense, when the events both refer to past time. Cf. Dion 8. 3, 'excepit et armat'; Datames 4. 5, 'pertimescit atque—dedit'; id. 11. 3, 'revertitur atque—resedit'; Eumenes 4. 2, 'vulneratur neque eo magis—excessit'; Eumenes 9. 5, 'quibus imperatum erat—curant.'

(h) Bold use of ellipse. Cf. Themistocles 5. 3, 'haec (est) altera victoria'; Eumenes 1. 1, 'non ille quidem maior (fuisse)'; Lysander 3. 2, 'cum id non potuisset (facere)'; and many others.

(i) Irregular use of copulas. See notes on Datames 3. 1; Eumenes 13. 4.

CORNELII NEPOTIS

LIBER

DE EXCELLENTIBUS DUCIBUS

EXTERARUM GENTIUM.

PRAEFATIO.

Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent, cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi erunt fere, qui² expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi si didicerint non³ eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari, non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos. Neque enim⁴ Cimoni fuit turpe, Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam habere in matrimonio, quippe cum cives eius eodem uterentur instituto. At id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Nulla Lacedaemoni vidua tam est nobilis, quae non ad cenam eat mercede conducta. Magnis in laudibus⁵ tota fere fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari; in scenam vero prodire ac populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur.

6 Contra ea pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud
illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem
ducere in convivium? aut cuius non materfamilias primum
7 locum tenet aedium atque in celebritate versatur? Quod
multo fit aliter in Graecia. Nam neque in convivium ad-
hibetur nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore
parte aedium, quae gynaeconitis appellatur; quo nemo ac-
8 cedit nisi propinqua cognatione coniunctus. Sed hic plura
persequi cum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio,
ut ea explicem, quae exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum
veniemus et in hoc exponemus libro de vita excellentium
imperatorum.

I.

MILTIADES.

	B. C.
<i>Miltiades I. founds a colony in the Chersonesus (about)</i>	555
<i>Miltiades II. succeeds his brother Stesagoras .</i>	518
<i>Accompanies Darius to Scythia</i>	516
<i>Leaves the Chersonesus</i>	514
<i>Takes Lemnos (about)</i>	500
<i>Commands at Marathou</i>	490
<i>Attempts the conquest of Paros</i>	489
<i>Dies in prison</i>	489

MILTIADES, Cimonis filius, Atheniensis, cum et antiquitate generis et gloria maiorum et sua modestia unus omnium maxime floreret eaque esset aetate, ut non iam solum de eo bene sperare, sed etiam confidere cives possent sui, talem eum futurum, qualem cognitum iudicarunt, accidit, ut Athenienses Chersonesum colonos vellent mittere. Cuius generis 2 cum magnus numerus esset et multi eius demigrationis peterent societatem, ex his delecti Delphos deliberatum missi sunt, qui consulerent Apollinem, quo potissimum duce uterentur. Namque tum Thraeces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia praecepit, ut Miltiadem imperatorem sibisumerent: id si fecissent, incepta prospera futura. Hoc oraculi 4 responso Miltiades cum delecta manu classe Chersonesum profectus, cum accessisset Lemnum et incolas eius insulae sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensium, idque Lemnii

5 sua sponte facerent postulasset, illi irridentes responderunt
tum id se facturos, cum ille domo navibus proficiscens vento
aquilone venisset Lemnum. Hic enim ventus ab septentrio-
6 nibus oriens adversum tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades morandi tempus non habens cursum direxit, quo tendebat, pervenitque Chersonesum.

II. Ibi brevi tempore barbarorum copiis disiectis, tota regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communiit, multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit crebrisque excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minus in ea re prudentia quam felicitate adiutus est. Nam cum virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summa aequitate res constituit atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regia, quamvis carebat nomine, neque id magis imperio quam iustitia consecutus. Neque eo setius Atheniensibus, a quibus erat profectus, officia praestabat. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut non minus eorum voluntate perpetuo imperium obtineret, qui miserant, quam illorum, cum quibus
4 erat profectus. Chersoneso tali modo constituta Lemnum revertitur et ex pacto postulat, ut sibi urbem tradant: [illi enim dixerant, cum vento borea domo profectus eo pervenisset, sese dedituros:] se enim domum Chersonesi habere.
5 Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi praeter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secunda fortuna adversariorum capti resistere ausi non sunt atque ex insula demigrarunt. Pari felicitate ceteras insulas, quae Cyclades nominantur, sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

III. Eisdem temporibus Persarum rex Darius ex Asia in Europam exercitu traiecto Scythis bellum inferre decrevit. Pontem fecit in Histro flumine, qua copias traduceret. Eius pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit principes, quos

secum ex Ionia et Aeolide duxerat; quibus singulis ipsorum urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim facillime putavit² se Graeca lingua loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent, sub sua retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset, quibus se oppresso nulla spes salutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero Miltiades, cui illa custodia crederetur. Hic³ cum crebri afferrent nuntii, male rem gerere Darium premique a Scythis, Miltiades hortatus est pontis custodes, ne a fortuna datam occasionem liberandae Graeciae dimitterent. Nam si cum his copiis, quas secum transportarat, interisset⁴ Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent Graeci genere, liberos a Persarum futuros dominatione et periculo; et facile effici posse. Ponte enim rescisso regem vel hostium ferro vel inopia paucis diebus interiturum. Ad hoc consilium cum plerique accederent,⁵ Histiaeus Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens: non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire et multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio; quo extincto ipsos potestate expulsos civibus suis poenas duros. Itaque adeo se abhorrere a ceterorum consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius quam confirmari regnum Persarum. Huius cum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades, non⁶ dubitans tam multis consciis ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit ac rursus Athenas demi-gravit. Cuius ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magnopere est laudanda, cum amicior omnium libertati quam suae fuerit dominationi.

IV. Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit eique Datim prae-fecit et Artaphernem iisque ducenta peditum, decem equitum milia dedit, causam interserens, se hostem esse Athe-

niensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardis expugnassent
2 suaque praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii classe ad
Euboeam appulsa celeriter Eretriam ceperunt omnesque eius
gentis cives abreptos in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde
ad Atticam accesserunt ac suas copias in campum Mara-
thona deduxerunt. Is est ab oppido circiter milia passuum
3 decem. Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo tamque
magno permoti auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis
petiverunt Phidippumque, cursorem eius generis, qui heme-
rodromoe vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nuntiaret,
4 quam celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creant decem
praetores, qui exercitui praeessent, in eis Miltiadem. Inter
quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moenibus se defenderent an
5 obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent. Unus Miltiades
maxime nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore castra fierent:
id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum vi-
derent de eorum virtute non desperari, et hostes eadem re
fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi adversus se tam
exiguis copiis dimicari.

V. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit
praeter Plataeenses. Ea mille misit militum. Itaque horum
adventu decem milia armatorum completa sunt; quae manus
2 mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est, ut
plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret. Eius ergo auctori-
tate impulsu Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt locoque
3 idoneo castra fecerunt. Dein postero die sub montis radi-
cibus acie regione instructa non apertissima proelium com-
miserunt (namque arbores multis locis erant rariae), hoc
consilio, ut et montium altitudine tegerentur et arborum
tractu equitatus hostium impediretur ne multitudine clau-
4 rentur. Datis, etsi non aequum locum videbat suis, tamen
fretus numero copiarum suarum configere cupiebat eoque

magis, quod, priusquam Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia produxit proeliumque commisit. In 5 quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarint adeoque eos perterruerint, ut Persae non castra, sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc exstitit nobilius: nulla enim umquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

VI. Cuius victoriae non alienum videtur quale praemium Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius intellegi possit eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi Ro- 2 mani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, 3 quia Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, posteaquam maius impe- 4 rium est nactus et largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.

VII. Post hoc proelium classem LXX navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros adiuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo in imperio plerasque ad officium redire coëgit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam 2 opibus elatam cum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit omnique commeatu privavit; dein vineis ac testudinibus constitutis propius muros accessit. Cum iam in eo esset, ut oppido potiretur, 3 procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu nocturno tempore incensus est. Cuius

flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque
4 venit in opinionem signum a classiariis regis datum. Quo
factum est, ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur, et Miltiades,
timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quae
statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus, Athenas
5 magna cum offensione civium suorum rediret. Accusatus
ergo est prodicionis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset,
a rege corruptus infectis rebus discessisset. Eo tempore
aeger erat vulneribus, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat.
Itaque, quoniam ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba
6 fecit frater eius Stesagoras. Causa cognita capitis absolutus
pecunia multatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis aesti-
mata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc
pecuniam quod solvere in praesentia non poterat, in vincla
publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.

VIII. Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa
fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati
tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, omnium civium
2 suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in imperiis
magnisque versatus, non videbatur posse esse privatus,
praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi
3 videretur. Nam in Chersoneso omnes illos, quos habitarat,
annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem tyrannusque fuerat
appellatus, sed iustus. Non erat enim vi consecutus,
sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat.
Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui potestate
4 sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae libertate usa est. Sed in
Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas,
ut nemo tam humilis esset, cui non ad eum aditus pateret,
magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen, laus
rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens maluit illum
innoxium plecti quam se diutius esse in timore.

II.

THEMISTOCLES.

	B. C.
<i>Themistocles born</i>	514
<i>Archon Eponymus</i>	481
<i>Fought at Salamis</i>	480
<i>Expelled from Athens</i>	471
<i>Fled from Greece</i>	466
<i>Died at Magnesia</i>	449

THEMISTOCLES, Neocli filius, Atheniensis. Huius vitia ineuntis adulescentiae magnis sunt emendata virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio est ordiendus. Pater eius Neocles generosus fuit. Is uxorem Halicarnassiam civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Qui cum minus esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem neglegebat, a patre exheredatus est. Quae contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit. Nam cum iudicasset sine summa industria non posse eam extinguere, totum se dedidit rei publicae, diligentius amicis famaeque serviens. Multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur, saepe in contionem populi prodibat; nulla res maior sine eo gerebatur; celeriter, quae opus erant, reperiebat, facile eadem oratione explicabat. Neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quam excogitandis erat, quod et de instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissime iudicabat et de futuris callidissime coniciebat. Quo factum est, ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

II. Primus autem gradus fuit capessendae rei publicae bello Corcyraeo; ad quod gerendum praetor a populo factus non solum praesenti bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore ferocior²em reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quae ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret, ille persuasit populo, ut ea pecunia classis centum³navium aedificaretur. Quae celeriter effecta primum Corcyraeos fregit, deinde maritimos praedones consectando mare tutum reddidit. In quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum etiam peritissimos⁴ belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantae salutis fuerit universae Graeciae, bello cognitum est Persico. Nam cum Xerxes et mari et terra bellum universae inferret Europae cum tantis copiis, quantas neque ante nec postea⁵ habuit quisquam: huius enim classis mille et ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo milia onerariarum sequebantur; terrestres autem exercitus DCC peditum, equitum⁶ CCC milia fuerunt. Cuius de adventu cum fama in Graeciam esset perlata et maxime Athenienses peti dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam, miserunt Delphos consultum, quidnam facerent de rebus suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit, ut⁷ moenibus ligneis se munirent. Id responsum quo valeret, cum intellegeret nemo, Themistocles persuasit consilium esse Apollinis, ut in naves se suaque conferrent: eum enim a deo⁸ significari murum ligneum. Tali consilio probato addunt ad superiores totidem naves triremes suaque omnia, quae moveri poterant, partim Salamina, partim Troezena deportant; arcem sacerdotibus paucisque maioribus natu ac sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum relinquunt.

III. Huius consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat et in terra dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida, Lacedaemoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi²

vim hostium non sustinuerunt eoque loco omnes interierunt. At classis communis Graeciae trecentarum navium, in qua ducentae erant Atheniensium, primum apud Artemisium inter Euboeam continentemque terram cum classiariis regis conflictit. Angustias enim Themistocles quaerebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hic etsi pari proelio discesserant, tamen 3 eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum, ne, si pars navium adversariorum Euboeam superasset, ancipiti premerentur periculo. Quo factum est, ut ab Artemisio dis-4 cederent et exadversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.

IV. At Xerxes Thermopylis expugnatis protinus accessit astu idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cuius flamma perterriti 2 classiarii cum manere non auderent, et plurimi hortarentur, ut domos suas discederent moenibusque se defenderent, Themistocles unus restitit et universos pares esse posse aiebat, dispersos testabatur perituros idque Eurybiadi, regi Lacedaemoniorum, qui tum summae imperii praeerat, fore affirmabat. Quem cum minus, quam vellet, moveret, noctu 3 de servis suis, quem habuit fidelissimum, ad regem misit, ut ei nuntiaret suis verbis adversarios eius in fuga esse: qui si 4 discessissent, maiore cum labore et longinquiore tempore bellum confecturum, cum singulos consecrari cogeretur; quos si statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eo valebat, ut ingratiis ad depugnandum omnes cogerentur. Hac re audita barbarus, nihil doli subesse cre-5 dens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus, adeo angusto mari conflictit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus ergo est magis etiam consilio Themistocli quam armis Graeciae.

V. Hic etsi male rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat

reliquias copiarum, ut etiam tum iis opprimere posset hostes. Iterum ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Nam Themistocles verens, ne bellare perseveraret, certiorum eum fecit id agi, ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur, idque ei persuasit.

2 Itaque qua sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus xxx in Asiam reversus est seque a Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum iudicavit. Sic unius viri prudentia Graecia liberata est Europaeque succubuit Asia. Haec altera victoria, quae cum Marathonio possit comparari tropaeo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta.

VI. Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace. Cum enim Phalerico portu neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur, huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque moenibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate aequiperaret, utilitate superaret. Idem muros Atheniensium restituit praecipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedaemonii causam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones, qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros habere, ne essent loca munita, quae hostes possiderent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt

3 conati. Hoc longe alio spectabat, atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonica et Salaminica, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intellegerent Lacedaemonii de principatu sibi cum iis certamen fore. Quare eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant.

4 Postquam autem audierunt muros instrui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His praesentibus desierunt ac

5 se de ea re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles et solus primo profectus est; reliqui legati ut tum exirent, cum satis altitudo muri exstructa

videretur, praecepit: interim omnes, servi atque liberi, opus facerent neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer sive privatus esset sive publicus, et undique, quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est, ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulcrisque constarent.

VII. Themistocles autem, ut Lacedaemonem venit, adire ad magistratus noluit et dedit operam, ut quam longissime tempus duceret, causam interponens se collegas exspectare. Cum Lacedaemonii quererentur opus nihilo minus fieri² eumque in ea re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti. A quibus cum audisset non multum superesse munitionis, ad ephoros Lacedaemoniorum accessit, penes quos summum erat imperium, atque apud eos contendit falsa iis esse delata: quare aequum esse illos viros bonos nobilesque mittere, quibus fides haberetur, qui rem explorarent; interea se obsidem retinerent. Gestus est ei mos, tresque legati³ functi summis honoribus Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci iisque praedixit, ut ne prius Lacedaemoniorum legatos dimitterent, quam ipse esset remissus. Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est,⁴ ad magistratum senatumque Lacedaemoniorum adiit et apud eos liberrime professus est: Atheniensis suo consilio, quod communi iure gentium facere possent, deos publicos suosque patrios ac penates, quo facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris saepsisse neque in eo, quod inutile esset Graeciae, fecisse. Nam illorum urbem ut propugnaculum oppositum⁵ esse barbaris; apud quam iam bis classes regias fecisse naufragium. Lacedaemonios autem male et iniuste facere, qui⁶ id potius intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi, quam quod universae Graeciae utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos Athenas miserant, se remitterent; aliter illos numquam in patriam essent recepturi.

VIII. Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam. Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Miltiades, testularum suffragiis e civitate eiectus Argos habitatum concessit. Hic cum propter multas eius virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Perse ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens prodicionis damnatus est. Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum eius principes animadvertisset timere, ne propter se bellum iis Lacedaemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum, Molossum regem, cum quo ei hospitium erat, confugit. Huc cum venisset et in praesentia rex abesset, quo maiore religione se receptum tueretur, filiam eius parvulam arripuit et cum ea se in sacrarium, quod summa colebatur caerimonia, coniecit. Inde non prius egressus est, quam rex eum data dextra in fidem reciperet; quam praestitit. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis exposceretur publice, supplicem non prodidit monuitque, ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse in tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum deduci iussit et, quod satis esset, praesidii dedit. Hic in navem omnibus ignotus nautis escendit. Quae cum tempestate maxima Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eo pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum. Hac necessitate coactus domino navis, qui sit, aperit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille clarissimi viri captus misericordia diem noctemque procul ab insula in salo navem tenuit in ancoris neque quemquam ex ea exire passus est. Inde Ephesum pervenit ibique Themistoclen exponit; cui ille pro meritis postea gratiam rettulit.

IX. Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclen Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucy-

didi credo, quod et aetate proximus de iis, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, et eiusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait ad Artaxerxen eum venisse atque his verbis epistulam misisse. Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala² omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quamdiu mihi necesse fuit adversum patrem tuum bellare patriamque meam defendere. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto³ ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit. Nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris eum certiore feci id agi, ut pons, quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur; quo nuntio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem confugi ad te exagitatus⁴ a cuncta Graecia, tuam petens amicitiam. Quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum habebis, quam fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Ea autem rogo, ut de iis rebus, quas tecum colloqui volo, annum mihi tempus deque transacto ad te venire patiaris.

X. Huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari veniam dedit. Ille omne illud tempus litteris sermonique Persarum [se] dedit; quibus adeo eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse, quam ii poterant, qui in Perside erant nati. Hic cum multa regi esset pollicitus gratissimumque illud, si² suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Graeciam bello oppressurum, magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Asiam rediit domiciliumque Magnesia³ sibi constituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat, his quidem verbis: quae ei panem praeberet (ex qua regione quinquagena talenta quotannis redibant); Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret; Myunta, ex qua opsonium haberet. Huius ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulcrum prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus; statua in foro Magnesia⁴. De cuius morte

multimodis apud plerosque scriptum est; sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui illum ait Magnesia morbo mortuum neque negat fuisse famam venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se, quae regi de Graecia
5 opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret. Idem ossa eius clam in Attica ab amicis sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod proditionis esset damnatus, memoriae prodidit.

III.

ARISTIDES.

	B. C.
<i>Fought at Marathon</i>	490
<i>Archon</i>	489
<i>Ostracised</i>	483
<i>Returned from Exile</i>	480
<i>Stratêgus (at Plataea)</i>	479
<i>Organized the Confederacy under Athens</i>	477
<i>Died</i>	468

ARISTIDES, Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis, aequalis fere fuit Themistocli. Itaque cum eo de principatu contendit: namque obtrecharunt inter se. In his autem cognitum est, quanto antestaret eloquentia innocentiae. Quamquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinencia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quem quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Iustus sit appellatus, tamen a Themistocle collabefactus, testula illa exilio decem annorum multatus est. Qui quidem cum intel-3 legeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non posse cedensque animadvertisset quendam scribentem, ut patria pelleretur, quaesisse ab eo dicitur, quare id faceret, aut quid Aristides commisisset, cur tanta poena dignus duceretur. Cui ille re-4 spondit se ignorare Aristiden, sed sibi non placere, quod tam cupide elaborasset, ut praeter ceteros Iustus appellaretur. Hic x annorum legitimam poenam non pertulit. Nam post-5 quam Xerxes in Graeciam descendit, sexto fere anno, quam erat expulsus, populi scito in patriam restitutus est.

II. Interfuit autem pugnae navali apud Salamina, quae facta est prius quam poena liberaretur. Idem praetor fuit Atheniensium apud Plataeas in proelio, quo Mardonius fusus
2 barbarorumque exercitus interfectus est. Neque aliud est ullum huius in re militari illustre factum quam huius imperii memoria, iustitiae vero et aequitatis et innocentiae multa, in primis, quod eius aequitate factum est, cum in communi classe esset Graeciae simul cum Pausania, quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut summa imperii maritimi ab Lacedaemoniis transferretur ad Athenienses. Namque ante id tem-
3 pus et mari et terra duces erant Lacedaemonii. Tum autem et intemperantia Pausaniae et iustitia factum est Aristidis, ut omnes fere civitates Graeciae ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent et adversus barbaros hos duces deligerent sibi.

III. Quos quo facilius repellerent, si forte bellum renovare conarentur, ad classes aedificandas exercitusque comparandos quantum pecuniae quaeque civitas daret, Aristides delectus est, qui constitueret, eiusque arbitrio quadringena et sexagena talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata. Id enim commune aerarium esse voluerunt. Quae omnis pecunia
2 postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic qua fuerit abstinentia, nullum est certius indicium, quam quod, cum tantis rebus praeuisset, in tanta paupertate decessit, ut, qui efferretur, vix reliquerit. Quo factum est, ut filiae eius publice
3 alerentur et de communi aerario dotibus datis collocarentur. Decessit autem fere post annum quartum, quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.

IV.

PAUSANIAS.

	B. C.
<i>Commanded at Plataea</i>	479
<i>Recalled from Byzantium</i>	477
<i>Died</i>	467

PAUSANIAS Lacedaemonius magnus homo, sed varius in omni genere vitae fuit. Nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus. Huius illustrissimum est proelium apud Plataeas. Namque illo duce Mardonius, satrapes regius, natione Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Persarum et manu fortis et consilii plenus, cum cc milibus peditum, quos viritim legerat, et xx equitum haud ita magna manu Graeciae fugatus est, eoque ipse dux cecidit proelio. Qua victoria ³ elatus plurima miscere coepit et maiora concupiscere. Sed primum in eo est reprehensus, quod ex praeda tripodem aureum Delphis posuisset epigrammate inscripto, in quo haec erat sententia: suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas esse deletos, eiusque victoriae ergo Apollini donum dedisse. Hos ⁴ versus Lacedaemonii exsculperunt neque aliud scripserunt quam nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persae erant victi.

II. Post id proelium eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi Cyprum atque Hellespontum miserunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum praesidia depelleret. Pari felicitate ² in ea re usus elatius se gerere coepit maioresque appetere

res. Nam cum Byzantio expugnato cepisset complures Persarum nobiles atque in his nonnullos regis propinquos, hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinclis publicis effugisse, et cum his Gongylum Eretriensem, qui litteras regi redderet, in quibus haec fuisse scripta Thucydides memoriae prodidit.

3⁶ Pausanias, dux Spartae, quos Byzantii ceperat, postquam propinquos tuos cognovit, tibi muneri misit seque tecum affinitate coniungi cupit. Quare, si tibi videtur, des ei filiam

4 tuam nuptum. Id si feceris, et Spartam et ceteram Graeciam sub tuam potestatem se adiuvante te redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum

5 mittas face, cum quo colloquatur.' Rex tot hominum salute tam sibi necessariorum magnopere gavisus confestim cum epistula Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit, in qua eum collaudat; petit, ne cui rei parcat ad ea efficienda, quae pollicetur:

6 si perfecerit, nullius rei a se repulsam laturum. Huius Pausanias voluntate cognita alacrior ad rem gerendam factus in suspicionem cecidit Lacedaemoniorum. Quo facto domum revocatus, accusatus capitis absolvitur, multatur tamen pecunia; quam ob causam ad classem remissus non est.

III. At ille post non multo sua sponte ad exercitum rediit et ibi non callida, sed dementi ratione cogitata patefecit. Non enim mores patrios solum, sed etiam cultum vestitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veste Medica; satellites Medi et Aegyptii sequebantur; epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius, quam, qui aderant, perpeti possent.

3 Aditum petentibus conveniundi non dabat, superbe respondebat, crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat: Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade est, se contulerat; ibi

4 consilia cum patriae tum sibi inimica capiebat. Id postquam Lacedaemonii rescierunt, legatos cum clava ad eum miserunt, in qua more illorum erat scriptum: nisi domum reverteretur,

se capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc nuntio commotus, sperans 5
 se etiam tum pecunia et potentia instans periculum posse
 depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincla
 publica est coniectus. Licet enim legibus eorum cuivis
 ephoro hoc facere regi. Hinc tamen se expedivit; neque
 eo magis carebat suspicione. Nam opinio manebat cum
 cum rege habere societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, 6
 quod Hilotae vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lace-
 daemoniorum colit servorumque munere fungitur. Hos
 quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod 7
 harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset,
 non putabant de tali tamque claro viro suspicionibus oportere
 iudicari, et exspectandum dum se ipsa res aperiret.

IV. Interim Argilius quidam adolescentulus, cum epistu-
 lam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset, eique in suspensionem
 venisset aliquid in ea de se esse scriptum, quod nemo eorum
 redisset, qui super tali causa eodem missi erant, vincla epi-
 stolae laxavit signoque detracto cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi
 esse pereundum. Erant in eadem epistula, quae ad ea per- 2
 tinebant, quae inter regem Pausaniamque convenerant. Has
 ille litteras ephoris tradidit. Non est praetereunda gravitas 3
 Lacedaemoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne huius quidem indicio
 impulsus sunt, ut Pausaniam comprehenderent, neque prius
 vim adhibendam putaverunt, quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque 4
 huic indici, quid fieri vellent, praeceperunt. Fanum Nep-
 tuni est Taenari, quod violari nefas putant Graeci. Eo ille
 index confugit in araque consedit. Hanc iuxta locum fece-
 runt sub terra, ex quo posset audiri, si quis quid loqueretur
 cum Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pau- 5
 sanias, ut audivit Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus
 venit eo. Quem cum supplicem dei videret in ara sedentem,
 quaerit, causae quid sit tam repentini consilii. Huic ille, quid

6 ex litteris comperisset, aperit. Modo magis Pausanias per-
turbatus orare coepit, ne enuntiaret nec se meritum de illo
optime proderet: quod si eam veniam sibi dedisset tantisque
implicatum rebus sublevasset, magno ei praemio futurum.

V. His rebus ephori cognitis satius putarunt in urbe eum
comprehendi. Quo cum essent profecti et Pausanias placato
Argilio, ut putabat, Lacedaemonem reverteretur, in itinere,
cum iam in eo esset, ut comprehenderetur, ex vultu cuiusdam
ephori, qui eum admoneri cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri in-
2 tellexit. Itaque paucis ante gradibus, quam qui eum seque-
bantur, in aedem Minervae, quae Chalcioicos vocatur, confugit.
Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas eius aedis obstrux-
erunt tectumque sunt demoliti, quo celerius sub divo interiret.
3 Dicitur eo tempore matrem Pausaniae vixisse eamque iam
magno natu, postquam de scelere filii comperit, in primis ad
filium claudendum lapidem ad introitum aedis attulisse. Sic
4 Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Hic
cum semianimis de templo elatus esset, confestim animam
5 efflavit. Cuius mortui corpus cum eodem nonnulli dicerent
inferri oportere, quo ii, qui ad supplicium essent dati, dis-
plicuit pluribus, et procul ab eo loco infoderunt, quo erat
mortuus. Inde posterius dei Delphici responso erutus atque
eodem loco sepultus est, ubi vitam posuerat.

V.

CIMON.

	B. C.
<i>Commanded at Byzantium</i>	477
<i>Captured Eion</i>	476
<i>Took Scyros</i>	470
<i>Fought at Eurymedon</i>	465
<i>Blockaded Thasos</i>	464-3
<i>Recalled from Banishment</i>	456
<i>Died</i>	452

CIMON, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est adulescentiae. Nam cum pater eius litem aestimatam populo solvere non potuisset ob eamque causam in vinclis publicis decessisset, Cimon eadem custodia tenebatur neque legibus Atheniensium emitti poterat, nisi pecuniam, qua pater multatus erat, solvisset. Habebat autem in matris monio sororem germanam suam nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus. Namque Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere. Huius coniugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generosus quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone, ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum. Is cum talem condicionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinclis publicis interire, quoniam prohibere posset, seque Calliae nupturam, si ea, quae polliceretur, praestitisset.

II. Tali modo custodia liberatus Cimon celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiae, summam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum iuris civilis tum rei militaris, quod cum patre a puero in exercitibus fuerat versatus. Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thraecum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit eoque x milia Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum apud Mycalen Cypriorum et Phoenicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit eodemque die pari fortuna in terra usus est: namque hostium navibus captis statim ex classe copias suas eduxit barbarorumque maximam vim uno concursu prostravit. Qua victoria magna praeda potitus cum domum reverteretur, quod iam nonnullae insulae propter acerbitem imperii defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coëgit. Scyrum, quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant, quod contumacius se gesserant, vacuefecit, sessores veteres urbe insulaque eiecit, agros civibus divisit. Thasios opulentia fretos suo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis arx Athenarum, qua ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.

III. Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maxime floreret, incidit in eandem invidiam, quam pater suus ceterique Atheniensium principes. Nam testarum suffragiis, quod illi *δόσπρακισμόν* vocant, x annorum exilio multatus est. Cuius facti celerius Athenienses quam ipsum paenituit. Nam cum ille animo forti invidiae ingratorum civium cessisset, bellumque Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus indixissent, confestim notae eius virtutis desiderium consecutum est. Itaque post annum quintum, quam expulsus erat, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio Lacedaemoniorum utebatur, satius existimans contendere, Lacedaemonem sua sponte est profectus

pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post 4 neque ita multo Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator missus, cum eius maiorem partem insulae devicisset, in morbum implicitus in oppido Citio est mortuus.

IV. Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed etiam in pace diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tanta liberalitate, cum compluribus locis praedia hortosque haberet, ut numquam in eis custodem imposuerit fructus servandi gratia, ne quis impediretur, quo minus eius rebus, quibus quisque vellet, frueretur. Semper eum pedisequi cum nummis sunt secuti, ut, 2 si quis opis eius indigeret, haberet, quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Saepe, cum aliquem offensum fortuito videret minus bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit. Cottidie sic cena ei coquebatur, ut, quos invocatos vidisset 3 in foro, omnes devocaret; quod facere nullo die praetermittebat. Nulli fides eius, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit; multos locupletavit; complures pauperes mortuos, qui, unde efferrentur, non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo, minime est mirandum, si et vita eius fuit 4 secura et mors acerba.

VI.

LYSANDER.

	B. C.
<i>Sent to command the Fleet</i>	407
<i>Gains the Battle of Aegospotami</i>	405
<i>Athens surrenders</i>	404
<i>Commands again in Asia</i>	403
<i>Is killed at Haliartus</i>	395

LYSANDER Lacedaemonius magnam reliquit sui famam, magis felicitate quam virtute partam. Athenienses enim adversus Peloponnesios sexto et vicesimo anno bellum gerentes conficisse apparet, neque, id qua ratione consecutus sit, latet. Non enim virtute sui exercitus, sed immodestia factum est adversariorum, qui, quod dicto audientes imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris relictis navibus, in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto Athenienses se Lacedaemoniis 3 dederunt. Hac victoria Lysander elatus, cum antea semper factiosus audaxque fuisset, sic sibi indulsit, ut eius opera in 4 maximum odium Graeciae Lacedaemonii pervenerint. Nam cum hanc causam Lacedaemonii dictitassent sibi esse belli, ut Atheniensium impotentem dominationem refringerent, postquam apud Aegos flumen Lysander classis hostium est potitus, nihil aliud molitus est, quam ut omnes civitates in sua teneret potestate, cum id se Lacedaemoniorum causa 5 facere simularet. Namque undique, qui Atheniensium rebus studuissent, eiectis, decem delegerat in unaquaque civitate, quibus summum imperium potestatemque omnium rerum

committeret. Horum in numerum nemo admittebatur, nisi qui aut eius hospitio contineretur aut se illius fore proprium fide confirmarat.

II. Ita decemvirali potestate in omnibus urbibus constituta ipsius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cuius de crudelitate ac perfidia satis est unam rem exempli gratia proferre, ne de eodem plura enumerando defatigemus lectores. Victor ex Asia cum² reverteretur Thasumque divertisset, quod ea civitas praecipua fide fuerat erga Athenienses, proinde ac si non iidem firmissimi solerent esse amici, qui constantes fuissent inimici, pervertere eam concupivit. Vidit autem, nisi in eo occul-³ tasset voluntatem, futurum, ut Thasii dilaberentur consulerentque rebus suis

III. Itaque hi decemviralem illam potestatem ab illo constitutam sustulerunt. Quo dolore incensus iniit consilia reges Lacedaemoniorum tollere. Sed sentiebat id se sine ope deorum facere non posse, quod Lacedaemonii omnia ad oracula referre consueverant. Primum Delphicum corrup-² pere est conatus. Cum id non potuisset, Dodonam adortus est. Hinc quoque repulsus dixit se vota suscepisse, quae Iovi Hammoni solveret, existimans se Afros facilius corrupturum. Hac spe cum profectus esset in Africam, multum³ eum antistites Iovis fefellerunt. Nam non solum corrumpi non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedaemonem miserunt, qui Lysandrum accusarent, quod sacerdotes fani corrumpere conatus esset. Accusatus hoc crimine iudicumque absolutus⁴ sententiis, Orchomeniis missus subsidio occisus est a Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quam vere de eo foret iudicatum,⁵ oratio iudicio fuit, quae post mortem in domo eius reperta est, in qua suadet Lacedaemoniis, ut regia potestate dissoluta ex omnibus dux deligatur ad bellum gerendum, sed scripta,

ut deum videretur congruere sententiae, quam ille se habiturum pecunia fidens non dubitabat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon Halicarnassius dicitur.

IV. Atque hoc loco non est praetereundum factum Pharnabazi, satrapis regii. Nam cum Lysander praefectus classis in bello multa crudeliter avareque fecisset deque his rebus suspicaretur ad cives suos esse perlatum, petiit a Pharnabazo, ut ad ephoros sibi testimonium daret, quanta sanctitate bellum gessisset sociosque tractasset, deque ea re accurate scriberet: magnam enim eius auctoritatem in ea re futuram.

2 Huic ille liberaliter pollicetur; librum grandem verbis multis conscripsit, in quibus summis eum fert laudibus. Quem cum legisset probassetque, dum signatur, alterum pari magnitudine, tanta similitudine, ut discerni non posset, signatum subiecit, in quo accuratissime eius avaritiam perfidiamque

3 accusarat. Hunc Lysander, domum cum redisset, postquam de suis rebus gestis apud maximum magistratum, quae voluerat, dixerat, testimonii loco librum a Pharnabazo datum tradidit. Hunc summoto Lysandro cum ephori cognoscent, ipsi legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator.

VII.

ALCIBIADES.

	B. C.
<i>Born</i> (about)	450
<i>Fights at Delium</i>	424
<i>Gains the first, second, and fourth Prizes at Olympia</i>	424
<i>Stratêgus</i>	419
<i>Goes to Sicily</i>	415
<i>Recalled to Samos</i>	411
<i>Returns to Athens</i>	407
<i>Present at Aegospotami</i>	405
<i>Dies</i>	404

ALCIBIADES, Cliniae filius, Atheniensis. In hoc, quid natura efficere possit, videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui de eo memoriae prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in amplissima² civitate summo genere, omnium aetatis suae multo formosissimus, ad omnes res aptus consiliique plenus (namque imperator fuit summus et mari et terra; disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret, quod tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei posset resistere); dives; cum tempus³ posceret, laboriosus, patiens; liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita quam victu; affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime serviens: idem, simulac se remiserat neque causa⁴ suberat, quare animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur

in uno homine tantam esse dissimilitudinem tamque diversam naturam.

II. Educatus est in domo Pericli (privignus enim eius fuisse dicitur), eruditus a Socrate; socerum habit Hipponicum, omnium Graeca lingua loquentium ditissimum: ut, si ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona eminisci neque maiora posset consequi, quam vel natura vel fortuna tribueret.

III. Bello Peloponnesio huius consilio atque auctoritate Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt; ad quod gerendum ipse dux delectus est, duo praeterea collegae dati, Nicia² et Lamachus. Id cum appareretur, priusquam classis exiret, accidit, ut una nocte omnes Hermae, qui in oppido erant Athenis, deicerentur praeter unum, qui ante ianuam erat Andocidi. Itaque ille postea Mercurius Andocidis vocitatus³ est. Hoc cum appareret non sine magna multorum consensione esse factum, quae non ad privatam, sed publicam rem pertineret, magnus multitudini timor est iniectus, ne qua repentina vis in civitate existeret, quae libertatem opprimeret⁴ populi. Hoc maxime convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod et potentior et maior quam privatus existimabatur. Multos enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures etiam opera for-⁵ensi suos reddiderat. Qua re fiebat, ut omnium oculos, quotienscumque in publicum prodisset, ad se converteret neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non solum spem in eo habebant maximam, sed etiam timorem,⁶ quod et obesse plurimum et prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur etiam infamia, quod in domo sua facere mysteria dicebatur; quod nefas erat more Atheniensium, idque non ad religionem, sed ad coniurationem pertinere existimabatur.

IV. Hoc crimine in contione ab inimicis compellabatur. Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille in-

tuens neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem postulabat, si quid de se agi vellent, potius de praesente quaestio haberetur, quam absens invidiae crimine accusaretur. Inimici vero eius quiescendum in praesenti, quia noceri non posse intellegebant, et illud tempus exspectandum decreverunt, quo exisset, ut absentem aggrederentur; itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem, quod sacra violasset, reum fecerunt. Qua de re cum ei nuntius a magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam dicendam rediret, essetque in magna spe provinciae bene administrandae, non parere noluit et in trirem, quae ad eum erat deportandum missa, ascendit. Hac Thurios in Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderata civium suorum licentia crudelitatemque erga nobiles, utilissimum ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem clam se ab custodibus subduxit et inde primum Elidem, dein Thebas venit. Postquam autem se capitis damnatum bonis publicis audivit et, id quod usu venerat, Eumolpidas sacerdotes a populo coactos, ut se devoverent, eiusque devotionis quod testatior esset memoria, exemplum in pila lapidea incisum esse positum in publico, Lacedaemonem demigravit. Ibi, ut ipse praedicare consuevit, non adversus patriam, sed inimicos suos bellum gessit, quod eidem hostes essent civitati: nam cum intelligerent se plurimum prodesse posse rei publicae, ex ea eiecisse plusque irae suae quam utilitati communi paruisse. Itaque huius consilio Lacedaemonii cum Perse rege amicitiam fecerunt, dein Deceleam in Attica munierunt praesidioque ibi perpetuo posito in obsidione Athenas tenuerunt. Eiusdem opera Ioniam a societate averterunt Atheniensium. Quo facto multo superiores bello esse coeperunt.

V. Neque vero his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti

quam timore ab eo alienati. Nam cum acerrimi viri praestantem prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent, pertimuerunt, ne caritate patriae ductus aliquando ab ipsis descisceret et cum suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus eius
2 interficiundi quaerere instituerunt. Id Alcibiades diutius celari non potuit. Erat enim ea sagacitate, ut decipi non posset, praesertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad Tissaphernem, praefectum regis Darii, se contulit.
3 Cuius cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset et Atheniensium male gestis in Sicilia rebus opes senescere, contra Lacedaemoniorum crescere videret, initio cum Pisandro praetore, qui apud Samum exercitum habebat, per internuntios colloquitur et de reditu suo facit mentionem. Erat enim eodem quo Alcibiades sensu, populi potentiae non amicus et optimatum
4 fautor. Ab hoc destitutus primum per Thrasybulum, Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur praetorque fit apud Samum; post suffragante Theramene populi scito restituitur parique absens imperio praeficitur simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene.
5 Horum in imperio tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedaemonii, qui paulo ante victores viguerant, perterriti pacem peterent. Victi enim erant quinque proeliis terrestribus, tribus navalibus, in quibus ducentas naves triremes
6 amiserant, quae captae in hostium venerant potestatem. Alcibiades simul cum collegis receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum, multas praeterea urbes Graecas, quae in ora sitae sunt Thraciae, quarum expugnarant complures, in his Byzantium, neque minus multas consilio ad amicitiam adiunxerant, quod
7 in captos clementia fuerant usi. Ita praeda onusti, locupletato exercitu, maximis rebus gestis Athenas venerunt.

VI. His cum obviam universa civitas in Piraeum descendisset, tanta fuit omnium expectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad eius triremem vulgus conflueret, proinde ac si solus adve-

nisset. Sic enim populo erat persuasum, et adversas superiores et praesentes secundas res accidisse eius opera. Itaque et Siciliae amissum et Lacedaemoniorum victorias culpaе suae tribuebant, quod talem virum e civitate expulissent. Neque id sine causa arbitrari videbantur. Nam postquam exercitui praeesse coeperat, neque terra neque mari hostes pares esse potuerant. Hic ut e navi egressus est, quamquam Theramenes et Thrasybulus eisdem rebus praefuerant simulque venerant in Piraeum, tamen unum omnes illum persequiebantur, et, id quod numquam antea usu venerat nisi Olympiae victoribus, coronis laureis taeniisque vulgo donabatur. Ille lacrimans talem benevolentiam civium suorum accipiebat; reminisci pristini temporis acerbitem. Postquam in astu venit, contione advocata sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus fuerit, quin eius casu illacrimarit inimicumque iis se ostenderit, quorum opera patria pulsus fuerat, proinde ac si alius populus, non ille ipse, qui tum flebat, eum sacrilegii damnasset. Restituta ergo huic sunt publice bona, eidemque illi Eumolpidae sacerdotes rursus resacrare sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant, pilaeque illae, in quibus devotio fuerat scripta, in mare praecipitatae.

VII. Haec Alcibiadi laetitia non nimis fuit diuturna. Nam cum ei omnes essent honores decreti totaque res publica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur, et ipse postulasset, ut duo sibi collegae darentur, Thrasybulus et Adimantus, neque id negatum esset, classe in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymen minus ex sententia rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit. Nihil enim eum non efficere posse ducebant. Ex quo fiebat, ut omnia minus prospere gesta culpaе tribuerent, cum aut eum neglegenter aut malitiose fecisse loquerentur; sicut tum accidit. Nam corruptum a rege capere Cymen noluisse arguebant. Itaque huic maxime

putamus malo fuisse nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis. Timebatur enim non minus quam diligebatur, ne secunda fortuna magnisque opibus elatus tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum est, ut absenti magistratum abrogarent
 4 et alium in eius locum substituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit et se Pactyen contulit ibique tria castella communiit, Ornos, Bisanthen, Neontichos, manuque collecta primus Graecae civitatis in Thraeciam introiit, gloriosius existimans barbarorum praeda locupletari quam Grai-
 5 orum. Qua ex re creverat cum fama tum opibus magnamque amicitiam sibi cum quibusdam regibus Thraeciae pepererat.

VIII. Neque tamen a caritate patriae potuit recedere. Nam cum apud Aegos flumen Philocles, praetor Atheniensium, classem constituisset suam neque longe abesset Lysander, praetor Lacedaemoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus, ut bellum quam diutissime duceret, quod ipsis pecunia a rege suppeditabatur, contra Atheniensibus exhaustis praeter arma
 2 et naves nihil erat super, Alcibiades ad exercitum venit Atheniensium ibique praesente vulgo agere coepit: si vellent, se coacturum Lysandrum dimicare aut pacem petere: spondet Lacedaemonios eo nolle classe configere, quod pedestribus
 3 copiis plus quam navibus valerent: sibi autem esse facile Seuthem, regem Thraecum adducere, ut eum terra depelleret; quo facto necessario aut classe conficiendum aut bellum com-
 4 positurum. Id etsi vere dictum Philocles animadvertibat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quod sentiebat se Alcibiade recepto nullius momenti apud exercitum futurum, et si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in ea re suam partem fore, contra ea, si quid adversi accidisset, se unum eius delicti futurum
 5 reum. Ab hoc discedens Alcibiades ‘Quoniam,’ inquit, ‘victoriae patriae repugnas, illud moneo, iuxta hostem castra

habeas nautica: periculum est enim, ne immodestia militum vestrorum occasio detur Lysandro vestri opprimendi exercitus.' Neque ea res illum fefellit. Nam Lysander, cum per speculatores comperisset vulgum Atheniensium in terram praedatum exisse navesque paene inanes relictas, tempus rei gerendae non dimisit eoque impetu bellum totum delevit.

IX. At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus non satis tuta eadem loca sibi arbitrans, penitus in Thraeciam se supra Propontidem abdidit, sperans ibi facillime suam fortunam oculi posse. Falso. Nam Thraeces, postquam eum cum magna pecunia venisse senserunt, insidias fecerunt; qui ea, quae apportarat, abstulerunt, ipsum capere non potuerunt. Ille cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Graecia propter potentiam Lacedaemoniorum ad Pharnabazum in Asiam transiit; quem quidem adeo sua cepit humanitate, ut eum nemo in amicitia antecederet. Namque ei Grynium dederat, in Phrygia castrum, ex quo quinquagena talenta vectigalis capiebat. Qua fortuna Alcibiades non erat contentus neque Athenas victas Lacedaemoniis servire poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur cogitatione. Sed videbat id sine rege Perse non posse fieri ideoque eum amicum sibi cupiebat adiungi neque dubitabat facile se consecuturum, si modo eius conveniundi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei bellum clam parare Lacedaemoniis adiuvantibus sciebat: id si aperuisset, magnam se initurum gratiam videbat.

X. Hoc cum moliretur peteretque a Pharnabazo, ut ad regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias ceterique tyranni Atheniensium certos homines ad Lysandrum id Asiam miserant, qui eum certiores facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse Athenis constituisset: quare, si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum perse-

2queretur. His Laco rebus commotus statuit accuratius sibi
agendum cum Pharnabazo. Huic ergo renuntiat, quae regi
cum Lacedaemoniis essent, nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mor-
3tuum sibi tradidisset. Non tulit hoc satrapes et violare
clementiam quam regis opes minui maluit. Itaque misit
Susamithren et Bagaeum ad Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum
4ille esset in Phrygia iterque ad regem compararet. Missi
clam vicinitali, in qua tum Alcibiades erat, dant negotium,
ut eum interficiant. Illi cum ferro aggredi non auderent,
noctu ligna contulerunt circa casam eam, in qua quiescebat,
eaeque succenderunt, ut incendio conficerent, quem manu
5superari posse diffidebant. Ille autem, ut sonitu flammae est
excitatus, etsi gladius ei erat subductus, familiaris sui subalare
telum eripuit. Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadia
hospes, qui numquam discedere voluerat. Hunc sequi se
iubet et id, quod in praesentia vestimentorum fuit, arripit.
6His in ignem eiectis flammae vim transiit. Quem ut barbari
incendium effugisse viderunt, telis eminus missis interfe-
cerunt caputque eius ad Pharnabazum rettulerunt. At mulier,
quae cum eo vivere consuevit, muliebri sua veste contextum
aedificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod ad vivum interim-
endum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades annos circiter xl
natus diem obiit supremum.

XI. Hunc infamatum a plerisque tres gravissimi historici
summis laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui eiusdem aetatis
fuit, Theopompus, post aliquanto natus, et Timaeus; qui
quidem duo maledicentissimi nescio quo modo in illo uno
2laudando conspirant. Namque ea, quae supra scripsimus,
de eo praedicarunt atque hoc amplius: cum Athenis, splen-
didissima civitate, natus esset, omnes splendore ac dignitate
3superasse vitae; postquam inde expulsus Thebas venerit,
adeo studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum labore corporis-

que viribus posset acquirere (omnes enim Boeotii magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acumini inserviunt); eundem 4 apud Lacedaemonios, quorum moribus summa virtus in patientia ponebatur, sic duritiae se dedisse, ut parsimonia victus atque cultus omnes Lacedaemonios vinceret; fuisse apud Thraecias, homines vinolentos rebusque veneriis deditos: hos quoque in his rebus antecessisse; venisse ad Persas, 5 apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari, luxuriose vivere: horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi ipsi eum in his maxime admirarentur. Quibus rebus effecisse, ut, apud 6 quoscumque esset, princeps poneretur habereturque carissimus. Sed satis de hoc; reliquos ordiamur.

VIII.

THRASYBULUS.

	B.C.
<i>Commanded at Samos</i>	411
<i>Fought at Arginusae</i>	406
<i>Fortified Phyle</i>	404
<i>Returned to Athens</i>	403
<i>Died at Aspendus</i>	389

THRASYBULUS, Lyci filius, Atheniensis. Si per se virtus sine fortuna ponderanda est, dubito, an hunc primum omnium ponam. Illud sine dubio: neminem huic praefero fide,
2 constantia, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. Nam cum multi voluerint paucique potuerint ab uno tyranno patriam liberare, huic contigit, ut a xxx oppressam tyrannis e servi-
3 tute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed nescio quo modo, cum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate praecurrerunt. Primum Peloponnesio bello multa hic sine Alcibiade gessit, ille nullam rem sine hoc; quae ille universa naturali
4 quodam bono fecit lucri. Sed illa tamen omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus et fortuna, quod in proelii concursu abit res a consilio ad vires vimque pugnantium. Itaque iure suo nonnulla ab imperatore miles, plurima vero fortuna vindicat seque hic plus valuisse quam ducis prudentiam vere
5 potest praedicare. Quare illud magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli. Nam cum xxx tyranni, praepositi a Lacedaemoniis, servitute oppressas tenerent Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello parserat fortuna, partim patria

expulissent, partim interfecissent, plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent, non solum princeps, sed etiam solus initio bellum his indixit.

II. Hic enim cum Phylen confugisset, quod est castellum in Attica munitissimum, non plus habuit secum xxx de suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Actaeorum, hoc robur libertatis clarissimae civitatis. Neque vero hic non contemptus est primo a tyrannis atque eius solitudo. Quae quidem res et illis contemnentibus pernicii et huic despecto saluti fuit. Haec enim illos segnes ad persequendum, hos autem tempore ad comparandum dato fecit robustiores. Quo magis praeceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet, nihil in bello oportere contemni, neque sine causa dici matrem timidi flere non solere. Neque tamen pro opinione Thrasybuli auctae sunt opes. Nam iam tum illis temporibus fortius boni pro libertate loquebantur quam pugnabant. Hinc in Piraeum transiit Munychiamque munivit. Hanc bis tyranni oppugnare sunt adorti ab eaque turpiter repulsi protinus in urbem armis impedimentisque amissis refugerunt. Usus est Thrasybulus non minus prudentia quam fortitudine. Nam cedentes violari vetuit: cives enim civibus parcere aequum censebat. Neque quisquam est vulneratus, nisi qui prior impugnare voluit. Neminem iacentem veste spoliavit, nil attigit nisi arma, quorum indigebat, quaeque ad victum pertinebant. In secundo proelio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum, cum quidem exadversus Thrasybulum fortissime pugnaret.

III. Hoc deiecto Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex Lacedaemoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum et eos, qui urbem tenebant, fecit pacem his condicionibus: ne qui praeter xxx tyrannos et x, qui postea praetores creati superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio, neve bona publi-

2 carentur; rei publicae procuratio populo redderetur. Prae-
clarum hoc quoque Thrasybuli, quod reconciliata pace, cum
plurimum in civitate posset, legem tulit, ne quis ante actarum
rerum accusaretur neve multaretur; eamque illi oblivionis
3 appellarunt. Neque vero hanc tantum ferendam curavit, sed
etiam, ut valeret, effecit. Nam cum quidam ex iis, qui simul
cum eo in exilio fuerant, caedem facere eorum vellent, cum
quibus in gratiam reditum erat publice, prohibuit et id, quod
pollicitus erat, praestitit.

IV. Huic pro tantis meritis honoris corona a populo data
est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis: quam quod amor civium
et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam magnaue fuit
2 gloria. Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui in VII sapientum numero
est habitus, cum Mytilenaei agri munera ei, multa milia
iugerum, darent, Nolite, oro vos, inquit, id mihi dare, quod
multi invideant, plures etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis
nolo amplius quam centum iugera, quae et meam animi
aequitatem et vestram voluntatem indicent. Nam parva mu-
3 nera diutina, locupletia non propria esse consuerunt. Illa
igitur corona contentus Thrasybulus neque amplius requisivit
4 neque quemquam honore se antecessisse existimavit. Hic
sequenti tempore cum praetor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset
neque satis diligenter in castris eius agerentur vigiliae, a bar-
baris ex oppido noctu eruptione facta in tabernaculo inter-
fectus est.

IX.

CONON.

	B. C.
<i>Commands at Naupactus</i>	413
<i>Succeeds Alcibiades</i>	406
<i>At Aegospotami</i>	405
<i>Remains at Cyprus till</i>	398
<i>Goes to the Persian Coast</i>	395
<i>Conquers at Cnidus</i>	394
<i>Taken prisoner by Tiribazus</i>	393
<i>Dies at Cyprus</i>	390

CONON Atheniensis Peloponnesio bello accessit ad rem publicam, in eoque eius opera magni fuit. Nam et praetor pedestribus exercitibus praefuit et praefectus classis magnas res mari gessit. Quas ob causas praecipuus ei honos habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis praefuit; in qua potestate Pheras cepit, coloniam Lacedaemoniorum. Fuit etiam extremo Peloponnesio bello praetor, cum apud² Aegos flumen copiae Atheniensium a Lysandro sunt devictae. Sed tum a fuit, eoque peius res administrata est. Nam et prudens rei militaris et diligens erat imperator. Itaque nemini erat his temporibus dubium, si affuisset,³ illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.

II. Rebus autem afflictis, cum patriam obsideri audisset, non quaesivit, ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed unde praesidio posset esse civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharna-

bazum, satrapem Ioniae et Lydiae eundemque generum regis et propinquum; apud quem ut multum gratia valeret, 2 multo labore multisque effecit periculis. Nam cum Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus devictis in societate non manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant, Agesilaumque bellatum misissent in Asiam, maxime impulsus a Tissapherne, qui ex intimis regis ab amicitia eius defecerat et cum Lacedaemoniis coierat societatem, hunc adversus Pharnabazus habitus est imperator, re quidem vera exercitui praefuit 3 Conon, eiusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Hic multum ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit saepeque eius consiliis obstitit; neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset, Agesilaum Asiam Tauro tenus regi fuisse erepturum. Qui posteaquam domum a suis civibus revocatus est, quod Boeotii et Athenienses Lacedaemoniis bellum indixerant, Conon nihilo setius apud praefectos regis versabatur hisque omnibus magno erat usui.

III. Defecerat a rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi quam ceteris erat apertum. Multis enim magnisque meritis apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque id mirandum, si non facile ad credendum adducebatur, reminiscens eius se opera Cyrum fratrem 2 superasse. Huius accusandi gratia Conon a Pharnabazo ad regem missus posteaquam venit, primum ex more Persarum ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat, Tithraustem, accessit seque ostendit cum rege colloqui 3 velle. Nemo enim sine hoc admittitur. Huic ille 'Nulla,' inquit, 'mora est; sed tu delibera, utrum colloqui malis an per litteras agere, quae cogitas.' Necesse est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem (quod προσκύνησιν illi vocant). Hoc si tibi grave est, per me nihilo setius 4 editis mandatis conficies, quod studes. Tum Conon 'Mihi

vero,' inquit, 'non est grave quemvis honorem habere regi; sed vereor, ne civitati meae sit opprobrio, si, cum ex ea sim profectus, quae ceteris gentibus imperare consuevit, potius barbarorum quam illius more fungar.'

IV. Itaque, quae huic volebat, scripta tradidit. Quibus cognitis rex tantum auctoritate eius motus est, ut et Tisaphernem hostem iudicaret et Lacedaemonios bello persequi iusserit et ei permiserit, quem vellet, eligere ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optime suos nosse deberet; sed se suadere, Pharnabazo id negotii daret. Hinc, magnis muneribus donatus, ad mare est missus, ut Cypriis et Phoenicibus ceterisque maritimis civitatibus naves longas imperaret classemque, qua proxima aestate mare tueri posset, compararet, dato adiutore Pharnabazo, sicut ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedaemoniis est nuntiatum, non sine cura rem administrant, quod maius bellum imminere arbitrabantur, quam si cum barbaro solum contenderent. Nam ducem fortem, prudentem regis opibus praefuturum ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio neque copiis superare possent. Hac mente magnam contrahunt classem; proficiscuntur Pisandro duce. Hos Conon apud Cnidum adortus magno proelio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit. Qua victoria non solum Athenae, sed etiam cuncta Graecia, quae sub Lacedaemoniorum fuerat imperio, liberata est. Conon cum parte navium in patriam venit, muros dirutos a Lysandro utrosque, et Piraei et Athenarum, reficiendos curat pecuniaeque quinquaginta talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.

V. Accidit huic, quod ceteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratior in secunda quam in adversa esset fortuna. Nam

classe Peloponnesiorum devicta, cum ultum se iniurias patriae putaret, plura concupivit, quam efficere potuit.
2 Neque tamen ea non pia et probanda fuerunt, quod potius patriae opes augeri quam regis maluit. Nam cum magnam auctoritatem sibi pugna illa navali, quam apud Cnidum fecerat, constituisset, non solum inter barbaros, sed etiam omnes Graecae civitatis, clam dare operam coepit, ut Ioniam
3 et Aeoliam restitueret Atheniensibus. Id cum minus diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus praeerat, Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem eum se mittere velle magna de re. Huius nuntio parens cum venisset, in vincla
4 coniectus est; in quibus aliquamdiu fuit. Inde nonnulli eum ad regem abductum ibique eum perisse scriptum reliquerunt. Contra ea Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimum de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit; illud addubitatur, utrum Tiribazo sciente an imprudente sit factum.

X.

DION.

	B. C.
<i>Born</i>	408
<i>Meets Plato</i>	387
<i>Dionysius I. dies</i>	367
<i>Dion banished</i>	366
<i>Invades Sicily</i>	357
<i>Is murdered</i>	353

DION, Hipparini filius, Syracusanus, nobili genere natus, utraque implicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum. Namque ille superior Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio; ex qua duos filios, Hipparinum et Nisaeum, procreavit totidemque filias, nomine Sophrosynen et Areten; quarum priorem Dionysio filio, eidem, cui regnum reliquit, nuptum dedit; alteram, Areten, Dioni. Dion autem praeter nobilem propinquitatem generosamque maiorum famam multa alia ab natura habuit bona, in his ingenium docile, come, aptum ad artes optimas, magnam corporis dignitatem, quae non minimum commendat, magnas praeterea divitias a patre relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat intimus Dionysio priori neque minus propter mores quam affinitatem. Namque etsi Dionysii crudelitas ei displicebat, tamen salvum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum causa studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus, eiusque consilio multum movebatur tyrannus, nisi qua in re maior ipsius

4 cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes vero omnes, quae essent
illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur; quas quidem ille
diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando crudelissimum
5 nomen tyranni sua humanitate leniebat. Hunc a Dionysio
missum Carthaginenses suspexerunt, ut neminem umquam
Graeca lingua loquentem magis sint admirati.

II. Neque vero haec Dionysium fugiebant. Nam quanto
esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quo fiebat, ut uni huic
maxime indulgeret neque eum secus diligeret ac filium;
2 qui quidem, cum Platonem Tarentum venisse fama in Si-
ciliam esset perlata, adulescenti negare non potuerit, quin
eum accerseret, cum Dion eius audiendi cupiditate flagraret.
Dedit ergo huic veniam magnaue eum ambitione Syracusas
3 perduxit. Quem Dion adeo admiratus est atque adamavit,
ut se ei totum traderet. Neque vero minus Plato delectatus
est Dione. Itaque cum a tyranno crudeliter violatus es-
set, quippe quem venundari iussisset, tamen eodem rediit
4 eiusdem Dionis precibus adductus. Interim in morbum
incidit Dionysius. Quo cum gravi conflictaretur, quaesivit
a medicis Dion, quemadmodum se haberet, simulque ab
his petiit, si forte maiori esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur:
nam velle se cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quod
sororis suae filios ex illo natos partem regni putabat debere
5 habere. Id medici non tacuerunt et ad Dionysium filium
sermonem rettulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi esset
Dioni potestas, patri soporem medicos dare coëgit. Hoc
aeger sumpto sopitus, diem obiit supremum.

III. Tale initium fuit Dionis et Dionysii simultatis, eaque
multis rebus aucta est. Sed tamen primis temporibus ali-
quamdiu simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Cum Dion
non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis

arcesseret et eius consiliis uteretur, ille, qui in aliqua re vellet patrem imitari, morem ei gessit. Eodemque tempore² Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non magis tyranno quam tyrannis. Sed de hoc in eo libro plura sunt exposita, qui de historicis Graecis conscriptus est. Plato autem tantum apud Dionysium aucto-³ritate potuit valuitque eloquentia, ut ei persuaserit tyrannidis facere finem libertatemque reddere Syracusanis; a qua voluntate Philisti consilio deterritus aliquanto crudelior esse coepit.

IV. Qui quidem cum a Dione se superari videret ingenio, auctoritate, amore populi, verens, ne, si eum secum haberet, aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi, navem ei triremem dedit, qua Corinthum deveheretur, ostendens se id utriusque facere causa, ne, cum inter se timerent, alteruter alterum praeoccuparet. Id cum factum multi in-²dignarentur magnaeque esset invidiae tyranno, Dionysius omnia, quae moveri poterant Dionis, in naves imposuit ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat, id se non odio hominis, sed suae salutis fecisse causa. Postea vero quam³audivit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare sibi bellum facere conari, Areten, Dionis uxorem, alii nuptum dedit filiumque eius sic educari iussit, ut indulgendo turpissimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Is usque eo vitae statum⁴commutatatum ferre non potuit, postquam in patriam rediit pater (namque appositae erant custodes, qui eum a pristino victu deducerent), ut se de superiore parte aedium deiecerit atque ita interierit. Sed illuc revertor.

V. Postquam Corinthum pervenit Dion et eodem perfugit Heraclides ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui praefectus fuerat equitum, omni ratione bellum comparare coeperunt. Sed²

non multum proficiebant, quod multorum annorum tyrannus
magnarum opum putabatur. Quam ob causam pauci ad
3 societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion, fretus non
tam suis copiis quam odio tyranni, maximo animo duabus
onerariis navibus quinquaginta annorum imperium, munitum
quingentis longis navibus, decem equitum centumque pedi-
tum milibus, profectus oppugnatum, quod omnibus gentibus
admirabile est visum, adeo facile perculit, ut post diem
4 tertium, quam Siciliam attigerat, Syracusas introierit. Ex
quo intellegi potest nullum esse imperium tutum nisi benevo-
lencia munitum. Eo tempore aberat Dionysius et in Italia
classem opperiebatur adversariorum, ratus neminem sine
5 magnis copiis ad se venturum. Quae res eum fefellit. Nam
Dion iis ipsis, qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regiones
spiritus repressit, totiusque eius partis Siciliae potitus est,
quae sub Dionysii fuerat potestate, parique modo urbis Syra-
6 cusarum praeter arcem et insulam adiunctam oppido, eoque
rem perduxit, ut talibus pactionibus pacem tyrannus facere
vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syracusas
Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat Dionysius.

VI. Has tam prosperas tamque inopinatas res consecuta
est subita commutatio, quod fortuna sua mobilitate, quem
2 paulo ante extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primum in filio,
de quo commemoravi supra, suam vim exercuit. Nam cum
uxorem reduxisset, quae alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet
revocare ad virtutem a perdita luxuria, accepit gravissimum
3 parens vulnus morte filii. Deinde orta dissensio est inter eum
et Heraclidem; qui, quod principatum non concedebat, factio-
nem comparavit. Neque is minus valebat apud optimates, quo-
rum consensu praeerat classi, cum Dion exercitum pedestrem
4 teneret. Non tulit hoc animo aequo Dion et versum illum
Homeri rettulit ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo haec sententia

est: non posse bene geri rem publicam multorum imperiis. Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est. Namque aperuisse videbatur omnia in sua potestate esse velle. Hanc ille 5 non lenire obsequio, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit Heraclidemque, cum Syracusas venisset, interficiundum curavit.

VII. Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem iniecit: nemo enim illo interfecto se tutum putabat. Ille autem adversario remoto licentius eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se sensisse, militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisus, cum cottidiani 2 maximi fierent sumptus, celeriter pecunia deesse coepit; neque, quo manus porrigeret, suppetebat nisi in amicorum possessiones. Id eiusmodi erat, ut, cum milites reconciliasset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum cura frange-3 batur et insuetus male audiendi non animo aequo ferebat de se ab iis male existimari, quorum paulo ante in caelum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem offensa in eum militum voluntate liberius loquebatur et tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.

VIII. Haec ille intuens cum, quemadmodum sedaret, nesciret et, quorsum evaderent, timeret, Callicrates quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peloponneso in Siciliam venerat, homo et callidus et ad fraudem acutus, sine ulla religione ac fide, adit ad Dionem et ait: eum magno in per-2 iculo esse propter offensionem populi et odium militum, quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui suorum negotium daret, qui se simularet illi inimicum. Quem si invenisset idoneum, facile omnium animos cogniturum adversariosque sublatum, quod inimici eius dissidentis suos sensus aperturi forent. Tali consilio probato excepit has partes ipse Calli-3 crates et se armat imprudentia Dionis; ad eum interficiundum socios conquirat, adversarios eius convenit, coniu-

ratione confirmat. Res, multis consciis quae gereretur, elata
defertur ad Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, uxoremque Areten.
Illae timore perterritae conveniunt, cuius de periculo time-
bant. At ille negat a Callicrate fieri sibi insidias, sed illa,
5 quae agerentur, fieri praecepto suo. Mulieres nihilo setius
Callicratem in aedem Proserpinae deducunt ac iurare cogunt
nihil ab illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hac religione non
modo non est deterritus, sed ad maturandum concitatus est,
verens, ne prius consilium aperiretur suum, quam conata
perfecisset.

IX. Hac mente proximo die festo, cum a conventu se
remotum Dion domi teneret atque in conclavi edito recu-
buisset, consciis facinoris loca munitiora oppidi tradit,
domum custodiis saepit, a foribus qui non discedant,
2 certos praeficit: navem triremem armatis ornat Philo-
stratoque, fratri suo, tradit eamque in portu agitari iubet,
ut si exercere remiges vellet, cogitans, si forte consiliis
obstitisset fortuna, ut haberet, qua fugeret ad salutem.
3 Suorum autem e numero Zacynthios adulescentes quosdam
eligit, cum audacissimos tum viribus maximis, hisque dat
negotium, ad Dionem eant inermes, sic ut conveniendi
eius gratia viderentur venire. Hi propter notitiam sunt in-
4 tromissi. At illi, ut limen eius intrarant, foribus obseratis
in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: fit strepitus, adeo
5 ut exaudiri possit foris. Hic, sicut ante saepe dictum est,
quam invisae sit singularis potentia et miseranda vita, qui
se metui quam amari malunt, cuivis facile intellectu fuit.
6 Namque illi ipsi custodes, si propria fuissent voluntate, fori-
bus effractis servare eum potuissent, quod illi inermes te-
lum foris flagitantes vivum tenebant. Cui cum succurreret
nemo, Lyco quidam Syracusanus per fenestram gladium dedit,
quo Dion interfectus est.

X. Confecta caede, cum multitudo visendi gratia introisset, nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant, quibus tale facinus displicebat. Hi falsa suspitione ducti immerentes ut sceleratos occidunt. Huius de morte ut² palam factum est, mirabiliter vulgi mutata est voluntas. Nam qui vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, eidem liberatorem patriae tyrannique expulsorem praedicabant. Sic subito misericordia odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine ab Acherunte, si possent, cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe³ celeberrimo loco, elatus publice, sepulcri monumento donatus est. Diem obiit circiter annos LV natus, quantum post annum, quam ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat.

XI.

IPHICRATES.

	B. C.
<i>Fought at Cnidus</i>	394
<i>Destroyed a Lacedaemonian mora</i>	390
<i>Served under Seuthes</i>	387
<i>Sent to Corcyra</i>	373
<i>Recalled to Athens</i>	371
<i>Sent to Amphipolis</i>	367
<i>Condemned at Athens</i>	356
<i>Died before</i>	348

IPHICRATES Atheniensis non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non solum aetatis suae cum primis compararetur, sed ne de maioribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur.

² Multum vero in bello est versatus, saepe exercitibus prae-
fuit; nusquam culpa male rem gessit, semper consilio vicit
tantumque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim nova at-
³ tulerit partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedestria arma
mutavit. Cum ante illum imperatorem maximis clipeis,
⁴ brevibus hastis, minutis gladiis uterentur, ille e contrario
peltam pro parma fecit (a quo postea peltastae pedites
appellantur), ut ad motus concursusque essent leviores;
hastae modum duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem
genus loricarum et pro sertis atque aënis linteas dedit.
Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit: nam pondere de-
tracto, quod aequae corpus tegeret et leve esset, curavit.

II. Bellum cum Thraecibus gessit; Seuthem, socium Atheniensium, in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tanta severitate exercitui praefuit, ut nullae umquam in Graecia neque exercitatiores copiae neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci, in eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut, cum 2 proclii signum ab imperatore esset datum, sine ducis opera sic ordinatae consisterent, ut singuli ab peritissimo imperatore dispositi viderentur. Hoc exercitu moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit; quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia. Iterum eodem bello omnes copias eorum fugavit; quo facto magnam adeptus est gloriam. Cum Artaxerxes 4 Aegyptio regi bellum inferre voluit, Iphicratem ab Atheniensibus ducem petivit, quem praeficeret exercitui conducticio, cuius numerus XII milium fuit. Quem quidem sic omni disciplina militari erudit, ut, quemadmodum quondam Fabiani milites Romani appellati sunt, sic Iphicratenses apud Graecos in summa laude fuerint. Idem 5 subsidio Lacedaemoniis profectus Epaminondae retardavit impetus. Nam nisi eius adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani Sparta abscessissent, quam captam incendio delessent.

III. Fuit autem et animo magno et corpore imperatoriaque forma, ut ipso aspectu cuius iniceret admirationem sui, sed in labore nimis remissus parumque patiens, ut 2 Theopompus memoriae prodidit; bonus vero civis fideque magna. Quod cum in aliis rebus declaravit tum maxime in Amyntae Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice, mater Perdiccae et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris Amynta mortuo ad Iphicratem confugit eiusque opibus defensa est. Vixit ad senectutem placatis in se suorum civium animis. 3 Causam capitis semel dixit, bello sociali, simul cum Timotheo, eoque iudicio est absolutus. Menesthea filium 4.

reliquit ex Thraessa natum, Coti regis filia. Is cum interrogaretur, utrum pluris, patrem matremne, faceret, 'Matrem,' inquit. Id cum omnibus mirum videretur, 'At, ille, merito,' inquit, 'facio. Nam pater, quantum in se fuit, Thraecem me genuit, contra ea mater Atheniensem.'

XII.

CHABRIAS.

	B.C.
<i>Commanded at Corinth</i>	393
<i>Conquered at Aegina</i>	388
<i>Sent to Thebes</i>	378
<i>Fought at Naxos</i>	376
<i>Defended Corinth</i>	368
<i>Served under Tachos</i>	361
<i>Served in Thrace</i>	358
<i>Died at Chios</i>	357

CHABRIAS Atheniensis. Hic quoque in summis habitus est ducibus resque multas memoria dignas gessit. Sed ex his elucet maxime inventum eius in proelio, quod apud Thebas fecit, cum Boeotiis subsidio venisset. Namque in eo victoria fidente summo duce Agesilao, fugatis iam ab eo conducticiis catervis, reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere obnixoque genu scuto, proiecta hasta impetum excipere hostium docuit. Id novum Agesilaus contuens progredi non est ausus suosque iam incurrentes tuba revocavit. Hoc usque eo tota Graecia fama celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est. Ex quo factum est, ut postea athletae ceterique artifices iis statibus in statu is ponendis uterentur, quomodo victoriam essent adepti.

II. Chabrias autem multa in Europa bella administravit, cum dux Atheniensium esset; in Aegypto sua sponte gessit. Nam Nectanabin adiutum profectus regnum ei constituit. 2 Fecit idem Cypri, sed publice ab Atheniensibus Euagorae adiutor datus, neque prius inde discessit, quam totam insulam bello devinceret; qua ex re Athenienses magnam gloriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum inter Aegyptios et Persas 3 conflatum est. Athenienses cum Artaxerxe societatem habebant, Lacedaemonii cum Aegyptiis; a quibus magnas praedas Agesilaus, rex eorum, faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, cum in re nulla Agesilao cederet, sua sponte eos adiutum profectus Aegyptiae classi praefuit, pedestribus copiis Agesilaus.

III. Tum praefecti regis Persae legatos miserunt Athenas questum, quod Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum Aegyptiis. Athenienses diem certam Chabriae praestituerunt, quam ante domum nisi redisset, capitis se illum damnaturos denuntiarunt. Hoc ille nuntio Athenas rediit neque ibi diutius est moratus, quam fuit necesse. Non enim 2 libenter erat ante oculos suorum civium, quod et vivebat laute et indulgebat sibi liberalius, quam ut invidiam vulgi posset effugere. Est enim hoc commune vitium in magnis 3 liberisque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriae comes sit et libenter de iis detrahant, quos eminere videant altius; neque animo aequo pauperes alienam opulentium intueantur fortunam. 4 Itaque Chabrias, quo ei licebat, plurimum aberat. Neque vero solus ille aberat Athenis libenter, sed omnes fere principes fecerunt idem, quod tantum se ab invidia putabant futuros, quantum a conspectu suorum recesserant. Itaque Conon plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraecia, Timotheus Lesbo, Chares Sigeo; dissimilis quidem Chares horum et factis et moribus, sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et potens.

IV. Chabrias autem periit bello sociali tali modo. Oppugnabant Athenienses Chium. Erat in classe Chabrias privatus, sed omnes, qui in magistratu erant, auctoritate anteibat, eumque magis milites quam, qui praeceperant, aspiciebant. Quae res ei maturavit mortem. Nam dum primus studet portum intrare gubernatoremque iubet eo dirigere navem, ipse sibi perniciiei fuit. Cum enim eo penetrasset, ceterae non sunt secutae. Quo facto circumfusus hostium concursu cum fortissime pugnaret, navis rostro percussa coepit sidere. Hinc refugere cum posset, si se in mare deiecisset, quod suberat classis Atheniensium, quae exciperet natantes, perire maluit quam armis abiectis navem relinquere, in qua fuerat vectus. Id ceteri facere noluerunt; qui nando in tutum pervenerunt. At ille praestare honestam mortem existimans turpi vitae, comminus pugnans telis hostium interfectus est.

XIII.

TIMOTHEUS.

	B. C.
<i>Served with Chabrias</i>	378
<i>Sent to Peloponnesus</i>	375
<i>Tried at Athens</i>	373
<i>Conquered Samos</i>	366
<i>Commanded in Macedonia</i>	364
<i>Served in Social War</i>	358
<i>Condemned and fined</i>	356
<i>Died</i>	354

TIMOTHEUS, Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic a patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim disertus, impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus neque minus civitatis regendae. Multa huius sunt praeclare facta, sed haec maxime illustria. Olynthios et Byzantios bello subegit. Samum cepit; in quo oppugnando superiori bello Athenienses mille et cc talenta consumpserant, id ille sine ulla publica impensa populo restituit: adversus Cotum bella gessit ab eoque mille et cc talenta praedae in publicum retulit. Cyzum cum obsidione liberavit. Ariobarzani simul cum Agesilao auxilio profectus est; a quo cum Laco pecuniam numeratam accepisset, ille cives suos agro atque urbibus augeri maluit quam id sumere, cuius partem domum suam ferre posset. Itaque accepit Crithoten et Sestum.

II. Idem classi praefectus, circumvehens Peloponnesum, Laconicen populatus, classem eorum fugavit, Corcyram sub imperium Atheniensium redegit, sociosque idem adiunxit Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas omnesque eas gentes, quae mare illud adiacent. Quo facto Lacedaemonii de diutina² contentione destiterunt et sua sponte Atheniensibus imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt pacemque iis legibus constituerunt, ut Athenienses mari duces essent. Quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum primum arae Paci publice sint factae eique deae pulvinar sit institutum. Cuius laudis ut memoria maneret, Timotheo publice statuam³ in foro posuerunt. Qui honos huic uni ante id tempus contigit, ut, cum patri populus statuam posuisset, filio quoque daret. Sic iuxta posita recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.

III. Hic cum esset magno natu et magistratus gerere desisset, bello Athenienses undique premi sunt coepti. Defecerat Samus, descierat Hellespontus, Philippus iam tunc valens, [Macedo,] multa moliebatur; cui oppositus Chares cum esset, non satis in eo praesidii putabatur. Fit Mene-²stheus praetor, filius Iphicratis, gener Timothei, et, ut ad bellum proficiscatur, decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur duo usu sapientiaque praestantes, quorum consilio uteretur, pater et socer, quod in his tanta erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset per eos amissa posse recuperari. Hi cum³ Samum profecti essent et eodem Chares illorum adventu cognito cum suis copiis proficisceretur, ne quid absente se gestum videretur, accidit, cum ad insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oreretur: quam evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati suam classem suppresserunt. At⁴ ille temeraria usus ratione non cessit maiorum natu auctoritati et, ut in sua manu esset fortuna, quo contenderat,

pervenit, eodemque ut sequerentur, ut Timotheum et Iphicratem nuntium misit. Hinc male re gesta, compluribus amissis navibus eo, unde erat profectus, se recipit litterasque Athenas publice misit, sibi proclive fuisse Samum capere, nisi a Timotheo et Iphicrate desertus esset. Populus acer, suspicax ob eamque rem mobilis, adversarius, invidus (etiam potentiae in crimen vocabantur) domum revocat: accusantur proditionis. Hoc iudicio damnatur Timotheus lisque eius aestimatur centum talentis. Ille odio ingratae civitatis coactus Chalcidem se contulit.

IV. Huius post mortem cum populum iudicii sui paeniteret, multae novem partes detraxit et decem talenta Cononem, filium eius, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam iussit dare. In quo fortunae varietas est animadversa. Nam quos avus [Conon] muros ex hostium praeda patriae restituerat, eosdem nepos cum summa ignominia familiae ex sua re familiari reficere coactus est.

2 Timothei autem moderatae sapientisque vitae cum pleraque possimus proferre testimonia, uno erimus contenti, quod ex eo facile conici poterit, quam carus suis fuerit. Cum Athenis adulescentulus causam diceret, non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum defendendum convenerunt, sed etiam in eis Iason, tyrannus Thessaliae, qui illo tempore 3 fuit omnium potentissimus. Hic cum in patria sine satellitibus se tutum non arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo praesidio venit tantique hospitem fecit, ut mallet se capitis periculum adire quam Timotheo de fama dimicanti deesse. Hunc adversus tamen Timotheus postea populi iussu bellum gessit, patriae sanctiora iura quam hospitii esse duxit.

4 Haec extrema fuit aetas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabriae, Timothei; neque post illorum obitum 5 quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. Venio

nunc ad fortissimum virum maximique consilii omnium barbarorum exceptis duobus Karthaginiensibus, Hamilcare et Hannibale. De quo hoc plura feremus, quod et obscuriora sunt eius gesta pleraque et ea, quae prospere ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum, sed consilii, quo tum omnes superabat, acciderunt; quorum nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt.

XIV.

DATAMES.

B. C.

The Chronology of the life of Datames is uncertain.

His chief exploits were performed in the reign

of Artaxerxes Mnemon 405-359

DATAMES, patre Camisare, natione Care, matre Scythissa natus, primum in militum numero fuit apud Artaxerxen eorum, qui regiam tuebantur. Pater eius Camisares, quod et manu fortis et bello strenuus et regi multis locis fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam partem Ciliciae iuxta Capadociam, quam incolunt Leucosyri. Datames militare munus fungens primum, qualis esset, aperuit in bello, quod rex adversus Cadusios gessit. Namque hic multis milibus regionum interfectis magni fuit eius opera. Quo factum est, cum in eo bello cecidisset Camisares, paterna ei ut traderetur provincia.

II. Pari se virtute postea prae-buit, cum Autophrodates iussu regis bello persequeretur eos, qui defecerant. Namque huius opera hostes, cum castra iam intrassent, profligati sunt exercitusque reliquus conservatus regis est. Qua ex re maioribus rebus praeesse coepit.

2 Erat eo tempore Thuys, dynastes Paphlagoniae antiquo genere, ortus a Pylaemene illo, quem Homerus Troico bello a Patroclo interfectum ait. Is regi dicto audiens non

erat. Quam ob causam bello eum persequi constituit eique 3
 rei praefecit Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis: namque
 ex fratre et sorore erant nati. Quam ob causam Datames
 primum experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad of-
 ficiū reduceret. Ad quem cum venisset sine praesidio,
 quod ab amico nullas vereretur insidias, paene interiit.
 Nam Thuys eum clam interficere voluit. Erat mater cum 4
 Datame, amita Paphlagonis. Ea, quid ageretur, rescit
 filiumque monuit. Ille fuga periculum evitavit bellumque 5
 indixit Thuyni. In quo cum ab Ariobarzane, praefecto
 Lydiae et Ioniae totiusque Phrygiae, desertus esset, nihilo
 segnius perseveravit vivumque Thuyn cepit cum uxore et
 liberis.

III. Cuius facti ne prius fama ad regem quam ipse
 perveniret, dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis eo, ubi
 erat rex, venit posteroque die Thuyn, hominem maximi
 corporis terribilique facie, quod et niger et capillo longo
 barbaque erat promissa, optima veste textit, quam satrapae
 regii gerere consuerant, ornavit etiam torque atque armillis
 aureis ceteroque regio cultu, ipse agresti duplici amiculo 2
 circumdatus hirtaque tunica, gerens in capite galeam ve-
 natoriam, dextra manu clavam, sinistra copulam, qua
 vinctum ante se Thuynem agebat, ut si feram bestiam
 captam duceret. Quae cum omnes conspicerent propter 3
 novitatem ornatus ignotamque formam ob eamque rem
 magnus esset concursus, fuit nonnemo, qui agnosceret
 Thuym regique nuntiaret. Primo non accreditit, itaque 4
 Pharnabazum misit exploratum. A quo ut rem gestam
 comperit statim admitti iussit, magnopere delectatus cum
 facto tum ornatu, in primis quod nobilis rex in potestatem
 inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnifice Datamen donatum ad 5
 exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur duce Pharnabazo et

Tithrauste ad bellum Aegyptium, parique eum atque illos imperio esse iussit. Postea vero quam Pharnabazum rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.

IV. Hic cum maximo studio compararet exercitum Aegyptumque proficisci pararet, subito a rege litterae sunt ei missae, ut Aspim aggredere, qui Cataoniam tenebat; 2 quae gens iacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociae. Namque Aspis, saltuosam regionem castellisque munitam incolens, non solum imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas regiones vexabat et, quae regi portarentur, abri- 3 piebat. Datames, etsi longe aberat ab his regionibus et a maiore re abstrahebatur, tamen regis voluntati morem gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis, sed viris fortibus navem conscendit, existimans, quod accidit, facilius se imprudentem parva manu oppressurum quam paratum quamvis magno 4 exercitu. Hac delatus in Ciliciam, egressus inde, dies noctesque iter faciens Taurum transiit eoque, quo studuerat, venit. Quaerit, quibus locis sit Aspis; cognoscit haud longe abesse profectumque eum venatum. Quae dum speculatur, adventus eius causa cognoscitur. Pisidas cum eis, quos 5 secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat. Id Datames ubi audivit, arma sumit, suos sequi iubet; ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur. Quem procul Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem pertimescit atque a conatu resistendi deterritus sese dedit. Hunc Datames vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.

V. Haec dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiscens, a quanto bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum misisset, se ipse reprehendit et nuntium ad exercitum Acen misit, quod nondum Datamen profectum putabat, qui diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic priusquam perveniret quo erat

profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspin ducebant. Qua² celeritate cum magnam benevolentiam regis Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum excepit, qui illum unum pluris quam se omnes fieri videbant. Quo facto cuncti ad eum opprimendum consenserunt. Haec³ Pandantes, gazae custos regiae, amicus Datami, perscripta ei mittit, in quibus docet eum magno fore periculo, si quid illo imperante adversi in Aegypto accidisset. Namque eam⁴ esse consuetudinem regiam, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortunae suae; quo fieri, ut facile impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res male gestae nuntientur. Illum hoc maiore fore in discrimine quod, quibus rex maxime obediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille litteris cognitis, cum iam ad exercitum Acen⁵ venisset, quod non ignorabat ea vere scripta, desciscere a rege constituit. Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide sua esset indignum. Nam Mandroclem Magnetem exercitui⁶ praefecit; ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit coniunctamque huic Paphlagoniam occupat, celans, qua voluntate esset in regem. Clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit.

VI. Sed haec propter hiemale tempus minus prospere procedebant. Audit Pisidas quasdam copias adversus se parare. Filium eo Arsideum cum exercitu mittit: cadit in proelio adulescens. Proficiscitur eo pater non ita cum magna manu, celans, quantum vulnus accepisset, quod prius ad hostem pervenire cupiebat, quam de male re gesta fama ad suos perveniret, ne cognita filii morte animi debilitarentur militum. Quo contenderat, pervenit iisque² locis castra ponit, ut neque circumiri multitudine adversariorum posset neque impediri, quo minus ipse ad dimicandum manum haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Me-³

trobarzanes, socer eius, praefectus equitum. Is desperatis
generi rebus ad hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit,
sensit, si in turbam exisset ab homine tam necessario se
4 relictum, futurum, ut ceteri consilium sequerentur. In vul-
gus edit: suo iussu Metrobarzanem profectum pro perfuga,
quo facilius receptus interficeret hostes. Quare relinqui
cum par non esse et omnes confestim sequi. Quod si
animo strenuo fecissent, futurum, ut adversarii non pos-
sent resistere, cum et intra vallum et foris caederentur.
5 Hac re probata exercitum educit, Metrobarzanem perse-
quitur tantum; qui cum ad hostes pervenerat, Datames
6 signa inferri iubet. Pisidae nova re commoti in opinionem
adducuntur perfugas mala fide compositoque fecisse, ut
recepti maiori essent calamitati. Primum eos adoriuntur.
Illi cum, quid ageretur aut quare fieret, ignorarent, coacti
sunt cum eis pugnare, ad quos transierant, ab iisque stare,
quos reliquerant; quibus cum neutri parcerent, celeriter
7 sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas resistentes Datames invadit;
primo impetu pellit, fugientes persequitur, multos interficit,
8 castra hostium capit. Tali consilio uno tempore et prodi-
tores perculit et hostes profligavit et, quod ad perniciem
suam fuerat cogitatum, id ad salutem convertit. Quo neque
acutius ullius imperatoris cogitatum neque celerius factum
usquam legimus.

VII. Ab hoc tamen viro Sysinas, maximo natu filius,
desciit ad regemque transiit et de defectione patris detulit.
Quo nuntio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intellegebat sibi cum
viro forti ac strenuo negotium esse, qui, cum cogitasset,
facere auderet et prius cogitare quam conari consuesset,
2 Autophrodatem in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare
posset, saltum, in quo Ciliciae portae sunt sitae, Datames
3 praeoccupare studuit. Sed tam subito copias contrahere non

potuit. A qua re depulsus cum ea manu, quam contraxerat, locum deligit talem, ut neque circumiretur ab hostibus neque praeteriret adversarius, quin ancipitibus locis premeretur, et, si dimicare eo vellet, non multum obesse multitudo hostium suae paucitati posset.

VIII. Haec etsi Autophrodates videbat, tamen statuit congredi quam cum tantis copiis refugere aut tam diu uno loco sedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum xx, peditum² centum milia, quos illi cardacas appellant, eiusdemque generis iii milia funditorum; praeterea Cappadocum viii milia, Armeniorum x milia, Paphlagonum v milia, Phrygum x milia, Lydorum v milia, Aspendiorum et Pisidarum circiter iii milia, Cilicum ii, Captianorum totidem, ex Graecia conductorum iii, levis armaturae maximum numerum. Has³ adversus copias spes omnis consistebat Datami in se locique natura: namque huius partem non habebat vicesimam militum. Quibus fretus conflixit adversariorumque multa milia concidit, cum de ipsius exercitu non amplius hominum mille cecidisset; quam ob causam postero die tropaeum posuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum erat. Hinc cum castra movisset⁴ semperque inferior copiis superior omnibus proeliis discederet, quod numquam manum consereret, nisi cum adversarios locorum angustiis clausisset, quod perito regionum callideque cogitanti saepe accidebat, Autophrodates, cum bellum duci⁵ maiore regis calamitate quam adversariorum videret, pacem amicitiamque hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam ille etsi fidam non fore putabat, tamen condicionem⁶ accepit seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum est. Autophrodates in Phrygiam se recepit.

IX. At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen sus-

ceperat, postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit,
2 insidiis interficere studuit; quas ille plerasque evitavit. Sicut,
cum ei nuntiatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in ami-
corum erant numero. De quibus quod inimici detulerant,
neque credendum neque negligendum putavit: experiri
3 voluit, verum falsumne sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo pro-
fectus est, in quo itinere futuras insidias dixerant. Sed elegit
corpore ac statura simillimum sui eique vestitum suum dedit
atque eo loco ire, quo ipse consuevit, iussit. Ipse autem
ornatu vestituque militari inter corporis custodes iter facere
4 coepit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum locum agmen
pervenit, decepti ordine atque vestitu impetum in eum faciunt,
qui suppositus erat. Praedixerat autem iis Datames, cum qui-
bus iter faciebat, ut parati essent facere, quod ipsum vidissent.
5 Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animum advertit, tela in eos
coniecit. Hoc idem cum universi fecissent, priusquam perve-
nirent ad eum, quem aggredi volebant, confixi conciderunt.

X. Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus
est Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo. Namque is pollicitus
est regi se eum interfecturum, si ei rex permetteret, ut, quod-
cumque vellet, liceret impune facere, fidemque de ea re more
2 Persarum dextra dedisset. Hanc ut accepit a rege missam,
copias parat et absens amicitiam cum Datame facit; regis
provincias vexat, castella expugnat, magnas praedas capit,
quarum partim suis dispertit, partim ad Datamen mittit;
3 pari modo complura castella ei tradit. Haec diu faciendo
persuasit homini se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse
bellum, cum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi praeberet
insidiarum, neque colloquium eius petivit neque in conspec-
tum venire studuit. Sic absens amicitiam gerebat, ut non
beneficiis mutuis, sed communi odio, quod erga regem
susceperant, contineri viderentur.

XI. Id cum satis se confirmasse arbitratus est, certio-
rem facit Datamen tempus esse maiores exercitus parari et bellum
cum ipso rege suscipi, deque ea re, si ei videretur, quo loco
vellet, in colloquium veniret. Probata re colloquendi tempus
sumitur locusque, quo conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum 2
uno, cui maxime habebat fidem, ante aliquot dies venit com-
pluribusque locis separatim gladios obruit eaque loca dili-
genter notat. Ipso autem colloquii die utrique, locum qui
explorarent atque ipsos scrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipsi
sunt congressi. Hic cum aliquamdiu in colloquio fuissent et 3
diverse discessissent iamque procul Datames abesset, Mithri-
dates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam suspicionem
pareret, in eundem locum revertitur atque ibi, ubi telum erat
infossum, resedit, ut si lassitudine cuperet acquiescere, Data-
menque revocavit, simulans se quiddam in colloquio esse
oblitum. Interim telum, quod latebat, protulit nudatumque 4
vagina veste textit ac Datami venienti ait: digredientem se
animadvertisse locum quendam, qui erat in conspectu, ad
castra ponenda esse idoneum. Quem cum digito demon- 5
straret et ille respiceret, aversum ferro transfixit priusque,
quam quisquam posset succurrere, interfecit. Ita ille vir,
qui multos consilio, neminem perfidia ceperat, simulata cap-
tus est amicitia.

XV.

EPAMINONDAS.

	B. C.
<i>Fights at Leuctra</i>	371
<i>Invades Peloponnesus</i>	370
<i>Is killed at Mantinea</i>	362

EPAMINONDAS, Polymnidis filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam scribimus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos mores ad suos referant neve ea, quae ipsis leviora sunt, pari modo apud ceteros fuisse arbitrentur. Scimus enim musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis persona, saltare vero etiam in vitiis poni; quae omnia apud Graecos et grata et laude digna ducuntur. Cum autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitae velimus Epaminondae, nihil videmur debere praetermittere, quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primum de genere eius, deinde quibus disciplinis et a quibus sit eruditus; tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus, et si qua alia memoria digna erunt; postremo de rebus gestis, quae a plurimis animi anteponuntur virtutibus.

II. Natus est igitur patre, quo diximus, genere honesto, pauper iam a maioribus relictus, eruditus autem sic ut nemo Thebanus magis. Nam et citharizare et cantare ad chordarum sonum doctus est a Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis gloria quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum

pervulgata sunt nomina; cantare tibiis ab Olympiodoro, saltare a Calliphrone. At philosophiae praeceptorem habuit² Lysim Tarentinum, Pythagoreum; cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adulescens tristem ac severum senem omnibus aequalibus suis in familiaritate anteposuerit, neque prius cum a se dimisit, quam in doctrinis tanto antecessit condiscipulos, ut facile intellegi posset pari modo superaturum omnes in ceteris artibus. Atque haec ad nostram con-³ suetudinem sunt levia et potius contemnenda; at in Graecia, utique olim, magnae laudi erant. Postquam ephebus est⁴ factus et palaestrae dare operam coepit, non tam magnitudini virium servivit quam velocitati. Illam enim ad athletarum usum, hanc ad belli existimabat utilitatem pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimum currendo et luctando ad eum⁵ finem, quoad stans complecti posset atque contendere. In armis vero plurimum studii consumebat.

III. Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona accesserant. Erat enim modestus, prudens, gravis, temporibus sapienter utens; peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo; adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne ioco quidem mentiretur. Idem continens, clemens patiensque admirandum in modum,² non solum populi, sed etiam amicorum ferens iniurias; in primis commissa celans, quod interdum non minus prodest quam diserte dicere; studiosus audiendi: ex hoc enim facillime disci arbitrabatur. Itaque cum in circulum ve-³ nisset, in quo aut de re publica disputaretur aut de philosophia sermo haberetur, numquam inde prius discessit, quam ad finem sermo esset adductus. Paupertatem adeo⁴ facile perpersus est, ut de re publica nihil praeter gloriam ceperit, amicorum in se tuendo caruerit facultatibus; idem ad alios sublevandos saepe sic usus est, ut iudicari possit omnia ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam cum aut⁵

civium suorum aliquis ab hostibus esset captus aut virgo amici nubilis, quae propter paupertatem collocari non posset, amicorum consilium habebat et, quantum quisque daret, 6 pro facultatibus imperabat. Eamque summam cum fecerat, priusquam acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quaerebat, ad eos, qui conferebant, eique ut ipsi numerarent, faciebat, ut ille, ad quem ea res perveniebat, sciret, quantum cuique deberet.

IV. Temptata autem eius est abstinencia a Diomedonte Cyziceno. Namque is rogatu Artaxerxis regis Epaminondam pecunia corrumpendum susceperat. Hic magno cum pondere auri Thebas venit et Micythum adolescentulum quinque talentis ad suam perduxit voluntatem, quem tum Epaminondas plurimum diligebat. Micythus Epaminondam 2 convenit et causam adventus Diomedontis ostendit. At ille Diomedonti coram ‘Nihil,’ inquit, ‘opus pecunia est. Nam si rex ea vult, quae Thebanis sunt utilia, gratis facere sum paratus; sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque argenti satis. Namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere nolo 3 pro patriae caritate. Tu quod me incognitum temptasti tuque similem existimasti, non miror tibi ignosco; sed egredere propere, ne alios corrumpas, cum me non potueris. Et tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde, aut, nisi id confestim 4 facis, ego te tradam magistratui.’ Hunc Diomedon cum rogaret, ut tuto exiret suaque, quae attulerat, liceret efferre, Istud quidem, inquit, faciam, neque tua causa, sed mea, ne, si tibi sit pecunia adempta, aliquis dicat id ad me ereptum 5 pervenisse, quod delatum accipere noluisssem. A quo cum quaesisset, quo se deduci vellet, et ille Athenas dixisset, praesidium dedit, ut tuto perveniret. Neque vero id satis habuit, sed etiam, ut inviolatus in navem escenderet, per Chabriam Atheniensem, de quo supra mentionem fecimus,

effecit. Abstinētiaē erit hoc satis testimonium. Plurima 6
quidem proferre possumus, sed modus adhibendus est,
quoniam uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum
complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim
multis milibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos
explicarunt.

V. Fuit etiam disertus, ut nemo ei Thebanus par esset elo-
quentia, neque minus concinnus in brevitate respondendi
quam in perpetua oratione ornatus. Habuit obtrectatorem 2
Menecliden quendam, indidem Thebis, et adversarium in
administranda re publica, satis exercitatum in dicendo, ut
Thebanum scilicet: namque illi genti plus inest virium quam
ingenii. Is, quod in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat, 3
hortari solebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne illius
imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille ‘Fallis,’ inquit,
‘verbo cives tuos, quod hos a bello revocas: otii enim nomine
servitutem concilias. Nam paritur pax bello. Itaque, qui ea 4
diutina volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent. Quare si
principes Graeciae vultis esse, castris est vobis utendum, non
palaestra.’ Idem ille Meneclides cum huic obiceret, quod 5
liberos non haberet neque uxorem duxisset, maximeque insol-
lentiam, quod sibi Agamemnonis belli gloriam videretur con-
secutus, At, ille, desine, inquit, Meneclida, de uxore mihi
exprobrare: nam nullius in ista re minus uti consilio volo.
(Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem adulterii.) Quod 6
autem me Agamemnonem aemulari putas, falleris. Namque
ille cum universa Graecia vix decem annis unam cepit urbem;
ego contra ea una urbe nostra dieque uno totam Graeciam
Lacedaemoniis fugatis liberavi.

VI. Idem cum in conventum venisset Arcadum, petens,
ut societatem cum Thebanis et Argivis facerent, contraque

Callistratus, Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentia omnes eo praestabat tempore, postularet, ut potius amicitiam sequerentur Atticorum, et in oratione sua multa invectus esset in 2 Thebanos et Argivos in eisque hoc posuisset, animum advertere debere Arcadas, quales utraque civitas cives procreasset, ex quibus de ceteris possent iudicare: Argivos enim fuisse Orestem et Alcmaeonem matricidas; Thebis Oedipum natum, qui cum patrem suum interfecisset, ex matre liberos procreasse: huic in respondendo Epaminondas, cum de ceteris 3 perorasset, postquam ad illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverterit innocentes illos natos domi, scelere admissio, cum patria essent 4 expulsi, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus. Sed maxime eius eloquentia eluxit Spartaee legati ante pugnam Leuctricam. Quo cum omnium sociorum convenissent legati, coram frequentissimo legationum conventu sic Lacedaemoniorum tyrannidem coarguit, ut non minus illa oratione opes eorum concusserit quam Leuctrica pugna. Tum enim perfecit, quod post apparuit, ut auxilio Lacedaemonii sociorum privarentur.

VII. Fuisse patientem suorumque iniurias ferentem civium, quod se patriae irasci nefas esse duceret, haec sunt testimonia. Cum eum propter invidiam cives sui praeficere exercitui nolissent duxque esset delectus belli imperitus, cuius errore eo esset deducta illa multitudo militum, ut omnes de salute pertimescerent, quod locorum angustiis clausi ab hostibus obsidebantur, desiderari coepta est Epaminondae diligentia. Erat 2 enim ibi privatus numero militis. A quo cum peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliae et exercitum obsidione liberatum domum reduxit incolumem. Nec vero hoc 3 semel fecit, sed saepius. Maxime autem fuit illustre, cum Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus Lacedaemonios

haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. Hi cum criminibus adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent ob eamque rem imperium his esset abrogatum atque in eorum locum alii praetores successissent, Epaminondas populi scito non paruit, idemque ut facerent, 4 persuasit collegis et bellum, quod suscepserat, gessit. Namque animadvertibat, nisi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter praetorum imprudentiam inscitiamque belli periturum. Lex 5 erat Thebis, quae morte multabat, si quis imperium diutius retinisset, quam lege praefinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas cum rei publicae conservandae causa latam videret, ad perniciem civitatis conferre noluit et quattuor mensibus diutius, quam populus iusserat, gessit imperium.

VIII. Postquam domum reditum est, collegae eius hoc crimine accusabantur. Quibus ille permisit, ut omnem causam in se transferrent suaque opera factum contenderent, ut legi non obedirent. Qua defensione illis periculo liberatis nemo Epaminondam responsurum putabat, quod, quid diceret, non haberet. At ille in iudicium venit, nihil eorum 2 negavit, quae adversarii crimini dabant, omniaque, quae collegae dixerant, confessus est neque recusavit, quo minus legis poenam subiret, sed unum ab his petivit, ut in periculo suo scriberent: 'Epaminondas a Thebanis morte multatus est, 3 quod eos coëgit apud Leuctra superare Lacedaemonios, quos ante se imperatorem nemo Boeotorum ausus fuit aspicere in acie, quodque uno proelio non solum Thebas ab interitu re- 4 traxit, sed etiam universam Graeciam in libertatem vindicavit eoque res utrorumque perduxit, ut Thebani Spartam oppugnant, Lacedaemonii satis haberent, si salvi esse possent, neque prius bellare destitit, quam Messene restituta urbem 5 eorum obsidione clausit.' Haec cum dixisset, risus omnium cum hilaritate coortus est, nèque quisquam iudex ausus est de

eo ferre suffragium. Sic a iudicio capitis maxima discessit gloria.

IX. Hic extremo tempore imperator apud Mantineam cum acie instructa audacius instaret hostes, cognitus a Lacedaemoniis, quod in unius pernicie eius patriae sitam putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt neque prius abscesserunt, quam magna caede multisque occisis fortissime ipsum Epaminondam pugnans sparo eminus percutsum
2 concidere viderunt. Huius casu aliquantum retardati sunt Boeotii, neque tamen prius pugna excesserunt, quam repug-
3 nantes profligarunt. At Epaminondas, cum animadverteret mortiferum se vulnus accepisse simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim emissurum, usque eo retinuit, quoad renuntiatum est vicisse
4 Boeotios. Id postquam audivit, ‘Satis,’ inquit, ‘vixi: invictus enim morior.’ Tum ferro extracto confestim exanimatus est.

X. Hic uxorem numquam duxit. In quo cum reprehenderetur, quod liberos non relinqueret, a Pelopida, qui filium habebat infamem, maleque eum in eo patriae consulere diceret, ‘Vide,’ inquit, ‘ne tu peius consulas, qui talem ex te
2 natum relicturus sis. Neque vero stirps potest mihi deesse. Namque ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leutricam, quae non modo mihi superstes, sed etiam immortalis sit necesse
3 est.’ Quo tempore duce Pelopida exules Thebas occuparunt et praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce expulerunt, Epaminondas, quamdiu facta est caedes civium, domo se tenuit, quod neque malos defendere volebat neque impugnare, ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret. Namque omnem civilem victoriam funestam putabat. Idem, postquam apud Cadmiam cum Lacedaemoniis pugna coepit, in primis stetit.

Huius de virtutibus vitaque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum ad-
adiunxero, quod nemo it infitias, Thebas et ante Epaminon-
dam natum et post eiusdem interitum perpetuo alieno par-
uisse imperio; contra ea, quamdiu ille praefuerit rei publicae,
caput fuisse totius Graeciae. Ex quo intellegi potest unum
hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.

XVI.

PELOPIDAS.

	B. C.
<i>Takes refuge in Athens</i>	382
<i>Recovers the Cadmea</i>	379
<i>Fights at Tegyra</i>	375
<i>Fights at Leuctra</i>	371
<i>Goes as Ambassador to Thessaly</i>	366
<i>Is killed at Cynoscephalae</i>	363

PELOPIDAS Thebanus, magis historicis quam vulgo notus. Cuius de virtutibus dubito quemadmodum exponam, quod vereor, si res explicare incipiam, ne non vitam eius enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere; si tantummodo summas attigero, ne rudibus Graecarum litterarum minus dilucide appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque utrique rei occurram, quantum potuero, et medebor cum satietati tum ignorantiae lectorum.

2 Phoebeidas Lacedaemonius, cum exercitum Olynthum duceret iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quae Cadmea nominatur, occupavit impulsu paucorum Thebanorum, qui, adversariae factioni quo facilius resisterent, Lacedaemonum rebus studebant, idque suo privato, non publico fecit
3 consilio. Quo facto eum Lacedaemonii ab exercitu removerunt pecuniaque multarunt, neque eo magis arcem Thebanis reddiderunt, quod susceptis inimiciis satius ducebant eos obsideri quam liberari. Nam post Peloponnesium bellum Athenasque devictas cum Thebanis sibi rem esse

existimabant et eos esse solos, qui adversus resistere audent. Hac mente amicis suis summas potestates dederant 4 alteriusque factionis principes partim interfecerant, alios in exilium eiecerant; in quibus Pelopidas hic, de quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus patria carebat.

II. Hi omnes fere Athenas se contulerant, non quo sequerentur otium, sed ut, quem ex proximo locum fors obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. Itaque cum tempus est 2 visum rei gerendae, communiter cum iis, qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt ad inimicos opprimendos civitatemque liberandam eum, quo maximi magistratus simul consuerant epulari. Magnae saepe res non ita magnis copiis sunt gestae; sed profecto numquam tam ab tenui initio tantae opes sunt profligatae. Nam duodecim adulescentuli 3 coierunt ex his, qui exilio erant multati, cum omnino non essent amplius centum, qui tanto se offerrent periculo. Qua paucitate percussa est Lacedaemoniorum potentia. Hi enim 4 non magis adversariorum factioni quam Spartanis eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui principes erant totius Graeciae; quorum imperii maiestas, neque ita multo post, Leuctrica pugna ab hoc initio percussa concidit. Illi igitur duodecim, quorum 5 dux erat Pelopidas, cum Athenis interdiu exissent, ut vespascente caelo Thebas possent pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter. Qui cum tempore ipso, quo studuerant, pervenissent, domum Charonis deverterunt, a quo et tempus et dies erat datus.

III. Hoc loco libet interponere, etsi seiunctum ab re proposita est, nimia fiducia quantae calamitati soleat esse. Nam magistratum Thebanorum statim ad aures pervenit exules in urbem venisse. Id illi vino epulisque dediti usque eo

- despexerunt, ut ne quaerere quidem de tanta re laborarint.
- 2 Accessit etiam, quod magis aperiret eorum dementiam. Allata est enim epistula Athenis ab Archino uni ex his, Archiae, qui tum maximum magistratum Thebis obtinebat, in qua omnia de profectione eorum perscripta erant. Quae cum iam accubanti in convivio esset data, sicut erat signata, sub pulvinum subiciens, 'In crastinum,' inquit, 'differo res serias.'
- 3 At illi omnes, cum iam nox processisset, vinolenti ab exulibus duce Pelopida sunt interfecti. Quibus rebus confectis vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato non solum qui in urbe erant, sed etiam undique ex agris concurrerunt, praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce pepulerunt, patriam obsidione liberarunt, auctores Cadmeae occupandae partim occiderunt, partim in exilium eiecerunt.

IV. Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra docuimus, Epaminondas, quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit. Itaque haec liberatarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidae; ceterae fere communes cum Epaminonda.

2 Namque Leuctrica pugna imperatore Epaminonda hic fuit dux delectae manus, quae prima phalangem pro-

3 stravit Laconum. Omnibus praeterea periculis affuit (sicut, Spartam cum oppugnavit, alterum tenuit cornu), quoque Messena celerius restitueretur, legatus in Persas est profectus. Denique haec fuit altera persona Thebis, sed tamen secunda ita, ut proxima esset Epaminondae.

V. Conflictatus autem est cum adversa fortuna. Nam et initio, sicut ostendimus, exul patria caruit, et cum Thesaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet redigere legationisque iure satis tectum se arbitraretur, quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuesset, a tyranno Alexandro Pheraeo simul cum Ismenia comprehensus in vincla coniec-

tus est. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello persequens 2
Alexandrum. Post id factum numquam animo placari
potuit in eum, a quo erat violatus. Itaque persuasit The-
banis, ut subsidio Thessaliae proficiscerentur tyrannosque
eius expellerent. Cuius belli cum ei summa esset data 3
eoque cum exercitu profectus esset, non dubitavit, simulac
conspexit hostem, configere. In quo proelio Alexandrum 4
ut animadvertit, incensus ira equum in eum concitavit, pro-
culque digressus a suis, coniectu telorum confossus concidit.
Atque hoc secunda victoria accidit: nam iam inclinatae
erant tyrannorum copiae. Quo facto omnes Thessaliae 5
civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis et statuis
aëneis liberosque eius multo agro donarunt.

XVII.

AGESILAUS.

	B. C.
<i>Born about</i>	440
<i>Became King</i>	398
<i>Went to Asia</i>	396
<i>Fought at Coronea</i>	394
<i>Fought at Mantinea</i>	362
<i>Died in Libya</i>	361

AGESILAUS Lacedaemonius cum a ceteris scriptoribus tum
 eximie a Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus est: eo enim
 usus est familiarissime. Hic primum de regno cum Leo-
 2tychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos est enim
 a maioribus Lacedaemoniis traditus, ut duos haberent sem-
 per reges, nomine magis quam imperio, ex duabus familiis
 Procli et Eurysthenis, qui principes ex progenie Herculis
 3Spartae reges fuerunt. Horum ex altera in alterius familiae
 locum fieri non licebat. Ita utraque suum retinebat ordi-
 nem. Primum ratio habebatur, qui maximus natu esset ex
 liberis eius, qui regnans decessisset; sin is virilem sexum
 non reliquisset, tum deligebatur, qui proximus esset pro-
 4pinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex, frater Agesilai. Filium
 reliquerat Leotychidem, quem ille natum non agnorat;
 eundem moriens suum esse dixerat. Is de honore regni
 cum Agesilao, patruo suo, contendit neque id, quod petivit,
 5consecutus est. Nam Lysandro suffragante, homine, ut

ostendimus supra, factioso et his temporibus potente, Agesilaus antelatus est.

II. Hic simul atque imperii potitus est, persuasit Lacedaemoniis, ut exercitus emitterent in Asiam bellumque regi facerent, docens satius esse in Asia quam in Europa dimicari. Namque fama exierat Artaxerxen comparare classes pedestresque exercitus, quos in Graeciam mitteret. Data 2 potestate tanta celeritate usus est, ut prius in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit, quam regii satrapae cum scirent profectum. Quo factum est, ut omnis imparatos imprudentesque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui summum 3 imperium tum inter praefectos habebat regios, indutias a Lacone petivit, simulans se dare operam, ut Lacedaemoniis cum rege conveniret, re autem vera ad copias comparandas, easque impetravit trimestres. Iuravit autem uterque 4 se sine dolo indutias conservaturum. In qua pactione summa fide mansit Agesilaus: contra ea Tissaphernes nihil aliud quam bellum comparavit. Id etsi sentiebat Laco, 5 tamen iusiurandum servabat multumque in eo se consequi dicebat, quod Tissaphernes periurio suo et homines suis rebus abalienaret et deos sibi iratos redderet; se autem conservata religione confirmare exercitum, cum animadverteret deum numen facere secum, hominesque sibi conciliare amiciores, quod iis studere consuessent, quos conservare fidem viderent.

III. Postquam indutiarum praeteriit dies, barbarus non dubitans, quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Caria et ea regio his temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima, eo potissimum hostis impetum facturos, omnes suas copias eo contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit eam- 2 que prius depopulatus est, quam Tissaphernes usquam se

moveret. Magna praeda militibus locupletatis Ephesum
hiematum exercitum reduxit atque ibi officinis armorum
institutis magna industria bellum apparavit. Et quo stu-
diosius armarentur insignisque ornarentur, praemia pro-
posuit, quibus donarentur, quorum egregia in ea re fuisset
3 industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus, ut, qui
ceteris praestitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus. His
igitur rebus effecit, ut et ornatissimum et exercitatissimum
4 haberet exercitum. Huic cum tempus esset visum copias
extrahere ex hibernaculis, vidit, si, quo esset iter facturum,
palam pronuntiasset, hostes non credituros aliasque regiones
praesidiis occupaturos neque dubitatuos aliud eum facturum,
5 ac pronuntiasset. Itaque cum ille Sardis iturum se dixis-
set, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam defendendam putavit. In
quo cum eum opinio fefellisset victumque se vidisset con-
silio, sero suis praesidio profectus est. Nam cum illo
venisset, iam Agesilaus multis locis expugnatis magna erat
6 praeda potitus. Laco autem, cum videret hostes equitatu
superare, numquam in campo sui fecit potestatem et iis
locis manum conseruit, quibus plus pedestres copiae va-
lerent. Pepulit ergo, quotienscumque congressus est, multo
maiores adversariorum copias et sic in Asia versatus est,
ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.

IV. Hic cum iam animo medicaretur proficisci in Persas
et ipsum regem adoriri, nuntius ei domo venit ephorum
missu, bellum Athenienses et Boeotos indixisse Lacedae-
2 moniis; quare venire ne dubitaret. In hoc non minus
eius pietas suspicienda est quam virtus bellica: qui cum
victori praeesset exercitui maximamque haberet fiduciam
regni Persarum potiundi, tanta modestia dicto audiens fuit
iussis absentium magistratuum, ut si privatus in comitio
esset Spartaе. Cuius exemplum utinam imperatores nostri

sequi voluissent! Sed illuc redeamus. Agesilaus opulentis-³
simo regno praeposuit bonam existimationem multoque
gloriosius duxit, si institutis patriae paruisset, quam si bello
superasset Asiam. Hac igitur mente Hellespontum copias⁴
traiecit tantaque usus est celeritate, ut, quod iter Xerxes
anno vertente confecerat, hic transierit xxx diebus. Cum⁵
iam haud ita longe abesset a Peloponneso, obsistere ei
conati sunt Athenienses et Boeoti ceterique eorum socii
apud Coroneam; quos omnes gravi proelio vicit. Huius⁶
victoriae vel maxima fuit laus, quod, cum plerique ex fuga
se in templum Minervae coniecissent quaerereturque ab eo,
quid his vellet fieri, etsi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo proelio
et iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adversus arma tulerant,
tamen antetulit irae religionem et eos vetuit violari. Neque⁷
vero hoc solum in Graecia fecit, ut templa deorum sancta
haberet, sed etiam apud barbaros summa religione omnia
simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque praedicabat mirari⁸
se non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus eorum
nocuissent, aut non gravioribus poenis affici, qui religionem
minuerent, quam qui fana spoliarent.

V. Post hoc proelium collatum omne bellum est circa
Corinthum ideoque Corinthum est appellatum. Hic cum²
una pugna decem milia hostium Agesilao duce cecidissent
eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatae viderentur, tan-
tum afuit ab insolentia gloriae, ut commiseratus sit fortunam
Graeciae, quod tam multi a se victi vitio adversariorum
concidissent: namque illa multitudine, si sana mens esset
Graeciae, supplicium Persas dare potuisset. Idem, cum³
adversarios intra moenia compulisset et, ut Corinthum
oppugnaret, multi hortarentur, negavit id suae virtuti con-
venire: se enim eum esse dixit, qui ad officium peccantes
redire cogeret, non qui urbes nobilissimas expugnaret Grae-

4 ciae. 'Nam si,' inquit, 'eos exstinguere voluerimus, qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt, nosmet ipsi nos expugnaverimus illis quiescentibus. Quo facto sine negotio, cum voluerint, nos oppriment.'

VI. Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedaemoniis. Quo ne proficisceretur, cum a plerisque ad exeundum premeretur, ut si de exitu divinaret, exire noluit. Idem, cum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret essetque sine muris oppidum, talem se imperatorem praebuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram
2 non fuisse. In quo quidem discrimine celeritas eius consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam cum quidam adulescentuli, hostium adventu perterriti, ad Thebanos transfugere vellent et locum extra urbem editum cepissent, Agesilaus, qui perniciosissimum fore videret, si animadversum esset quemquam ad hostis transfugere conari, cum suis eo venit atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium eorum, quod eum locum occupassent, et se id quoque fieri debere anim-
3 advertisse. Sic adulescentes simulata laudatione recuperavit et adiunctis de suis comitibus locum tutum reliquit. Namque illi aucti numero eorum, qui expertes erant consilii, commovere se non sunt ausi eoque libentius, quod latere arbitrabantur, quae cogitaverant.

VII. Sine dubio post Leuctricam pugnam Lacedaemonii se numquam refecerunt neque pristinum imperium recuperarunt, cum interim numquam Agesilaus destitit, quibuscumque rebus
2 posset, patriam iuvare. Nam cum praecipue Lacedaemonii indigerent pecunia, ille omnibus, qui a rege defecerant, praesidio fuit; a quibus magna donatus pecunia patriam suble-
3 vavit. Atque in hoc illud in primis fuit admirabile, cum maxima munera ei ab regibus ac dynastis civitatibusque

conferrentur, quod nihil umquam domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit. Domo 4 eadem fuit contentus, qua Eurysthenes, progenitor maiorum suorum, fuerat usus; quam qui intrarat, nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriae videre poterat, contra ea plurima patientiae atque abstinentiae: sic enim erat instructa, ut in nulla re differret cuiusvis inopis atque privati.

VIII. Atque hic tantus vir, ut naturam fautricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in corpore fingendo. Nam et statura fuit humili et corpore exiguo et claudus altero pede. Quae res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem, atque ignoti, faciem eius cum intuerentur, contemnebant; qui autem virtutes noverant, non poterant admirari satis. Quod ei usu venit, cum annorum 2 LXXX subsidio Tacho in Aegyptum iisset et in acta cum suis accubuisset sine ullo tecto stratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta esset stramentis neque huc amplius quam pellis esset iniecta, eodemque comites omnes accubuissent, vestitu humili atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non modo in his regem neminem significaret, sed homines non beatissimos suspicionem praeberet. Huius de adventu fama cum ad 3 regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eo cuiusque generis sunt allata. His quaerentibus Agesilaum vix fides facta est unum esse ex his, qui tum accubabant. Qui cum regis 4 verbis, quae attulerant, dedissent, ille praeter vitulinam et eiusmodi genera obsonii, quae praesens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit; unguenta, coronas secundamque mensam servis dispertiit, cetera referri iussit. Quo facto eum barbari 5 magis etiam contempserunt, quod eum ignorantia bonarum rerum illa potissimum sumpsisse arbitrabantur.

Hic cum ex Aegypto reverteretur, donatus a rege Nec- 6 tanabide ducentis viginti talentis, quae ille muneri populo

suo daret, venissetque in portum, qui Menelai vocatur, iacens inter Cyrenas et Aegyptum, in morbum implicitus
7 decessit. Ibi eum amici, quo Spartam facilius perferre possent, quod mel non habebant, cera circumfuderunt atque ita domum rettulerunt.

XVIII.

EUMENES.

	B. C.
<i>Secretary to Alexander</i>	336-323
<i>Defeated Craterus</i>	321
<i>Died</i>	316

EUMENES Cardianus. Huius si virtuti par data esset fortuna, non ille quidem maior, sed multo illustrior atque etiam honoratior, quod magnos homines virtute metimur, non fortuna. Nam cum aetas eius incidisset in ea tempora, quibus 2 Macedones florerent, multum ei detraxit inter eos viventi, quod alienae erat civitatis, neque aliud huic defuit quam generosa stirps. Etsi ille domestico summo genere erat: tamen 3 Macedones eum sibi aliquando anteponi indigne ferebant, neque tamen non patiebantur. Vincebat enim omnes cura, vigilantia, patientia, calliditate et celeritate ingenii.

Hic peradulescentulus ad amicitiam accessit Philippi, 4 Amyntae filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem. Fulgebat enim iam in adulescentulo indoles virtutis. 5 Itaque eum habuit ad manum scribae loco, quod multo apud Graios honorificentius est quam apud Romanos. Namque apud nos re vera, sicut sunt, mercennarii scribae existimantur; at apud illos e contrario nemo ad id officium admittitur nisi honesto loco, et fide et industria cognita, quod necesse est omnium consiliorum eum esse participem. Hunc locum 6 tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem. Illo interfecto eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos tredecim.

Novissimo tempore praefuit etiam alterae equitum alae, quae Hetaerice appellabatur. Utrique autem in consilio semper affuit et omnium rerum habitus est particeps.

II. Alexandro Babylone mortuo, cum regna singulis familiaribus dispertirentur et summa tradita esset tuenda eidem, cui Alexander moriens anulum suum dederat, Perdiccae: ex quo omnes coniecerant eum regnum ei commisisse, quoad liberi eius in suam tutelam pervenissent: aberat enim Crateros et Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur; mortuus erat Hephaestio, quem unum Alexander, quod facile intellegi posset, plurimi fecerat: hoc tempore data est Eumeni Cappadocia sive potius dicta: nam tum in hostium erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adiunxerat magno studio, quod in homine fidem et industriam magnam videbat, non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno usui fore sibi in iis rebus, quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim, quod fere omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt, omnium partes corripere atque complecti. Neque vero hoc ille solus fecit, sed ceteri quoque omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici. Primus Leonnatus Macedoniam praeoccupare destinavit. Is multis magnisque pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit, ut Perdiccam desereret ac secum faceret societatem. Cum perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est; et fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex praesidiis eius effugisset.

III. Interim conflata sunt illa bella, quae ad internecionem post Alexandri mortem gesta sunt, omnesque concurrerunt ad Perdiccam opprimendum. Quem etsi infirmum videbat, quod unus omnibus resistere cogeatur, tamen amicum non deseruit neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Praefecerat hunc Perdiccas ei parti Asiae, quae inter Taurum montem iacet atque Hellespontum, et illum unum opposuerat Euro-

pacis adversariis; ipse Aegyptum oppugnatum adversus Ptolemaeum erat profectus. Eumenes cum neque magnas 3 copias neque firmas haberet, quod et inexercitatae et non multo ante erant contractae, adventare autem dicerentur Hellespontumque transisse Antipater et Crateros magno cum exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate tum usu belli praestantes (Macedones vero milites ea tum erant fama, qua 4 nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt fortissimi, qui summam imperii potirentur): Eumenes intellegebat, si copiae suae cognosset, adversus quos ducerentur, non modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuntio dilapsuras. Itaque 5 hoc ei visum est prudentissimum, ut deviis itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non possent, et his persuaderet se contra quosdam barbaros proficisci. Itaque tenuit hoc 6 propositum et prius in aciem exercitum eduxit proeliumque commisit, quam milites sui scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam illud locorum praeoccupatione, ut equitatu potius dimicaret, quo plus valebat, quam peditatu, quo erat deteriore.

IV. Quorum acerrimo concursu cum magnam partem diei esset pugnatum, cadit Crateros dux et Neoptolemus, qui secundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc concurrat ipse Eumenes. Qui cum inter se complexi in terram ex 2 equis decidissent, ut facile intellegi possent inimica mente contendisse animoque magis etiam pugnasse quam corpore, non prius distracti sunt, quam alterum anima relinqueret. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur, neque eo magis ex proelio excessit, sed acrius hostis institit. Hic equitibus 3 profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero, multis praeterea et maxime nobilibus captis pedester exercitus, quod in ea loca erat deductus, ut invito Eumene elabi non posset, pacem ab eo petit. Quam cum impetrasset, in fide non mansit et se,

4 simul ac potuit, ad Antipatrum recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum elatum recreare studuit; cum id non posset, pro hominis dignitate proque pristina amicitia (namque illo usus erat Alexandro vivo familiariter) amplo funere extulit ossaque in Macedoniam uxori eius ac liberis remisit.

V. Haec dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud Nilum flumen interficitur a Seleuco et Antigono rerumque summa ad Antipatrum defertur. Hic, qui non deseruerant, exercitu suffragium ferente capitis absentes damnantur, in his Eumenes. Hac ille percussus plaga non succubuit neque eo setius bellum administravit. Sed exiles res animi
2 magnitudinem etsi non frangebant, tamen minuebant. Hunc persequens Antigonus, cum omni genere copiarum abundaret, saepe in itineribus vexabatur, neque umquam ad manum accedere licebat nisi iis locis, quibus pauci multis
3 possent resistere. Sed extremo tempore, cum consilio capi non posset, multitudo circumitus est. Hinc tamen multis suis amissis se expedit et in castellum Phrygiae, quod Nora
4 appellatur, confugit. In quo cum circumsederetur et vereretur, ne uno loco manens equos militares perderet, quod spatium non esset agitandi, callidum fuit eius inventum, quemadmodum stans iumentum concalfieri exercerique posset, quo libentius et cibo uteretur et a corporis motu non
5 removeretur. Substringebat caput loro altius, quam ut prioribus pedibus plane terram posset attingere; deinde post verberibus cogebat exsultare et calces remittere. Qui motus non minus sudorem excutiebat, quam si in spatio decurreret.
6 Quo factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut aequae iumenta nitida ex castello educeret, cum complures menses in obsidione fuisset, ac si in campestribus ea locis habuisset.
7 In hac conclusione, quotienscumque voluit, apparatus et

munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disiecit. Tenuit autem se uno loco, quamdiu hiems fuit, quod castra sub divo habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat: simulata deditione, dum de condicionibus tractat, praefectis Antigoni imposuit seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.

VI. Ad hunc Olympias, mater quae fuerat Alexandri, cum litteras et nuntios misisset in Asiam consultum, utrum regnum repetitum in Macedoniam veniret (nam tum in Epiro habitabat) et eas res occuparet, huic ille primum² suasit, ne se moveret et exspectaret, quoad Alexandri filius regnum adipisceretur; sin aliqua cupiditate raperetur in Macedoniam, oblivisceretur omnium iniuriarum et in neminem acerbior uteretur imperio. Horum illa nihil fecit.³ Nam et in Macedoniam profecta est et ibi crudelissime se gessit. Petit autem ab Eumene absente, ne pateretur Philippi domus ac familiae inimicissimos stirpem quoque interimere ferretque opem liberis Alexandri. Quam veniam si⁴ daret, quam primum exercitus pararet, quos sibi subsidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, se omnibus praefectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse litteras, ut ei parerent eiusque consiliis uterentur. His rebus Eumenes permotus satius⁵ duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire bene meritis referentem gratiam quam ingratum vivere.

VII. Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit. Quod una erant Macedones complures nobiles, in his Peucestes, qui corporis custos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem obtinebat Persidem, et Antigonus, cuius sub imperio phalanx erat Macedonum, invidiam verens, quam tamen effugere non potuit, si potius ipse alienigena summi imperii potiretur quam alii Macedonum, quorum ibi erat multitudo, in principiis Alexandri nomine tabernaculum statuit in eoque²

sellam auream cum sceptro ac diademate iussit poni eoque omnes cottidie convenire, ut ibi de summis rebus consilia caperentur, credens minore se invidia fore, si specie imperii nominisque simulatione Alexandri bellum videretur administrare. Quod effecit. Nam cum non ad Eumenis principia, sed ad regia conveniretur atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodammodo latebat, cum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.

VIII. Hic in Paraetacis cum Antigono conflixit, non acie instructa, sed in itinere, eumque male acceptum in Mediam hiematum coëgit redire. Ipse in finitima regione Persidis hiematum copias divisit, non ut voluit, sed ut militum cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quae Asiam peragrarat deviceratque Persas, inveterata cum gloria tum etiam licentia, non parere se ducibus, sed imperare postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. Itaque periculum est, ne faciant, quod illi fecerunt, sua intemperantia nimiaque licentia ut omnia perdant neque minus eos, cum quibus steterint, quam adversus quos fecerint. Quod si quis illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat neque rem ullam nisi tempus interesse iudicet. Sed ad illos revertar. Hiberna sumpserant non ad usum belli, sed ad ipsorum luxuriam longeque inter se discesserant. Hoc Antigonus cum comperisset intellegeretque se parem non esse paratis adversariis, statuit aliquid sibi consilii novi esse capiendum. Duae erant viae, qua ex Medis, ubi ille hiemabat, ad adversariorum hibernacula posset perveniri. Quarum brevior per loca deserta, quae nemo incolebat propter aquae inopiam, ceterum dierum erat fere decem; illa autem, qua omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorem habebat anfractum, sed erat copiosa omniumque rerum abundans. Hac si proficisceretur, intelle-

gebat prius adversarios rescituros de suo adventu, quam ipse tertiam partem confecisset itineris; sin per loca sola contenderet, sperabat se imprudentem hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam imperavit quam plurimos utres⁷ atque etiam culleos comparari, post haec pabulum, praeterea cibaria cocta dierum decem, ut quam minime fieret ignis in castris. Iter quo habeat, omnes celat. Sic paratus, qua constituerat, proficiscitur.

IX. Dimidium fere spatium confecerat, cum ex fumo castrorum eius suspicio allata est ad Eumenem hostem appropinquare. Conveniunt duces; quaeritur, quid opus sit facto. Intellegebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi non posse, quam Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hic omnibus titubantibus et de rebus summis desperantibus² Eumenes ait, si celeritatem velint adhibere et imperata facere, quod ante non fecerint, se rem expediturum. Nam quod diebus quinque hostis transisse posset, se effecturum, ut non minus totidem dierum spatio retardaretur. Quare circumirent, suas quisque contraheret copias. Ad Antigoni³ autem refrenandum impetum tale capit consilium. Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui obvii erant itineri adversariorum, hisque praecipit, ut prima nocte, quam latissime possint, ignes faciant quam maximos atque hos secunda vigilia minuant, tertia perexiguos reddant et assimulata⁴ castrorum consuetudine suspicionem inician hostibus, his locis esse castra ac de eorum adventu esse praenuntiatum; idemque postera nocte faciant. Quibus imperatum erat,⁵ diligenter praeceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis ignis conspiciatur; credit de suo adventu esse auditum et adversarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium et,⁶ quoniam imprudentes adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum et illum anfractum longiorem copiosae viae capit ibique

diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum ac reficienda iumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.

X. Hic Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio celeritatemque impedivit eius, neque tamen multum profecit.
 2 Nam invidia ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiaque Macedonum veteranorum, cum superior proelio discessisset, Antigono est deditus, cum exercitus ei ter ante separatis temporibus iurasset se eum defensurum neque umquam deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obtrectatio, ut fidem amittere mallent quam eum non perdere. Atque hunc Antigonus,
 3 cum ei fuisset infestissimus, conservasset, si per suos esset licitum, quod ab nullo se plus adiuvari posse intellegebat in iis rebus, quas impendere iam apparebat omnibus. Imminebant enim Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemaeus, opibus iam valentes,
 4 cum quibus ei de summis rebus erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii, qui circa erant, quod videbant Eumene recepto omnes prae illo parvi futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeo erat incensus, ut nisi magna spe maximarum rerum leniri non posset.

XI. Itaque cum eum in custodiam dedisset et praefectus custodum quaesisset, quemadmodum servari vellet, 'Ut acerrimum,' inquit, 'leonem aut ferocissimum elephantum.' Non-
 2 dum enim statuerat, conservaret eum necne. Veniebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex eius casu capere vellent, et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique cuperent; multi etiam, qui eius formam cognoscere studebant, qualis esset, quem tam diu tamque valde timuissent, cuius in per-
 3 nicie positam spem habuissent victoriae. At Eumenes, cum diutius in vinclis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem summa imperii erat custodiae, se mirari, quare iam tertium diem sic teneretur; non enim hoc convenire Antigoni prudentiae, ut

sic deuteretur victo; quin aut interfici aut missum fieri iuberet. Hic cum ferocius Onomarcho loqui videretur, 'Quid tu?' in- 4 quit, 'animo si isto eras, cur non in proelio cecidisti potius, quam in potestatem inimici venires?' Huic Eumenes 'Utinam 5 quidem istud evenisset! sed eo non accidit, quod numquam cum fortiore sum congressus. Non enim cum quoquam arma contuli, quin is mihi succubuerit; non enim virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidia decidi.' Neque id falsum. Nam et dignitate fuit honesta et viribus ad laborem ferendum firmis neque tam magno corpore quam figura venusta.

XII. De hoc Antigonus cum solus constituere non auderet, ad consilium rettulit. Hic cum omnes primo perturbati admirarentur non iam de eo sumptum esse supplicium, a quo tot annos adeo essent male habiti, ut saepe ad desperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces interfecisset, denique 2 in quo uno tantum esset, ut, quoad ille viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent, interfecto nihil habituri negotii essent, postremo, si illi redderet salutem, quaerebant, quibus amicis esset usus: sese enim cum Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic cognita consilii voluntate tamen usque ad septimum 3 diem deliberandi sibi spatium reliquit. Tum autem, cum iam vereretur, ne qua seditio exercitus oreretur, vetuit quemquam ad eum admitti et cottidianum victum removeri iussit. Nam negabat se ei vim allaturum, qui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic tamen non amplius quam triduum fame fati- 4 gatus, cum castra moverentur, insciente Antigono iugulatus est a custodibus.

XIII. Sic Eumenes annorum v et xl, cum ab anno vicesimo, uti supra ostendimus, vii annos Philippo apparuisset, xiii apud Alexandrum eundem locum obtinuisset, in his unum equitum alae praefuisset, post autem Alexandri

Magni mortem imperator exercitus duxisset summosque
duces partim reppulisset, partim interfecisset, captus non
Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum periurio, talem habuit exi-
2 tum vitae. In quo quanta omnium fuerit opinio eorum, qui
post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati, ex hoc
facillime potest iudicari, quod nemo Eumene vivo rex appel-
3 latus est, sed praefectus, eidem post huius occasum statim
regium ornatum nomenque sumpserunt neque, quod initio
praedicarant, se Alexandri liberis regnum servare, praestare
voluerunt et uno propugnatore sublato, quid sentirent, ape-
ruerunt. Huius sceleris principes fuerunt Antigonus, Ptole-
4 maeus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassandrus. Antigonus autem
Eumenem mortuum propinquis eius sepeliendum tradidit.
Hi militari honestoque funere, comitante toto exercitu, hu-
maverunt ossaque eius in Cappadociam ad matrem atque
uxorem liberosque eius deportanda curarunt.

XIX.

PHOCION.

	B. C.
<i>Born</i>	402
<i>Fought at Naxos</i>	376
<i>Commanded in Cyprus</i>	351
<i>Commanded in Euboea</i>	350
<i>Defended Megara</i>	343
<i>Sent as Ambassador to Antipater</i>	323
<i>Put to death</i>	316

PHOCION Atheniensis etsi saepe exercitibus praefuit sum-
 mosque magistratus cepit, tamen multo eius notior integritas
 vitae quam rei militaris labor. Itaque huius memoria est
 nulla, illius autem magna fama, ex quo cognomine Bonus est
 appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuo pauper, cum divitissimus 2
 esse posset propter frequentes delatos honores potestatesque
 summas, quae ei a populo dabantur. Hic cum a rege Phi- 3
 lippo munera magnae pecuniae repudiaret legatique horta-
 rentur accipere simulque admonerent, si ipse his facile
 careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret, quibus difficile esset in
 summa paupertate tantam paternam tueri gloriam, his ille ‘Si 4
 mei similes erunt, idem hic,’ inquit, ‘agellus illos alet, qui me
 ad hanc dignitatem perduxit; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo
 meis impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.’

II. Idem cum prope ad annum octogesimum prospera
 pervenisset fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium

2 pervenit suorum civium, primo quod cum Demade de urbe tradenda Antipatro consenserat eiusque consilio Demosthenes cum ceteris, qui bene de re publica meriti existimabantur, populi scito in exilium erant expulsi. Neque in eo solum offenderat, quod patriae male consuluerat, sed etiam quod
3 amicitiae fidem non praestiterat. Namque auctus adiutusque a Demosthene eum, quem tenebat, ascenderat gradum, cum adversus Charetem eum subornaret; ab eodem in iudiciis, cum capitis causam diceret, defensus aliquoties, liberatus discesserat. Hunc non solum in periculis non defendit, sed
4 etiam prodidit. Concidit autem maxime uno crimine, quod, cum apud eum summum esset imperium populi iussu, et Nicanorem, Cassandri praefectum, insidiari Piraeo Atheniensium a Dercylo moneretur idemque postularet, ut provideret, ne commeatibus civitas privaretur, huic audiente populo Phocion negavit esse periculum seque eius rei obsidem fore pollicitus
5 est. Neque ita multo post Nicanor Piraeo est potitus. Ad quem recuperandum cum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modo neminem ad arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem praeesse voluit. Sine quo Athenae omnino esse non possunt.

III. Erant eo tempore Athenis duae factiones, quarum una populi causam agebat, altera optimatum. In hac erat Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum patrociniis utebatur. Nam populares Polyperchonti
2 favebant, optimates cum Cassandro sentiebant. Interim a Polyperchonte Cassandrus Macedonia pulsus est. Quo facto populus superior factus statim duces adversariae factionis capitis damnatos patria propulit, in his Phocionem et Demetrium Phalereum, deque ea re legatos ad Polyperchontem misit, qui ab eo peterent, ut sua decreta confirma-
3 ret. Huc eodem profectus est Phocion. Quo ut venit,

causam apud Philippum regem verbo, re ipsa quidem apud Polyperchontem iussus est dicere. Namque is tum regis rebus praeerat. Hic ab Agnone accusatus, quod Piraeum⁴ Nicanori prodidisset, ex consilii sententia in custodiam coniectus, Athenas deductus est, ut ibi de eo legibus fieret iudicium.

IV. Huc perventum est, cum propter aetatem pedibus iam non valeret vehiculoque portaretur. Magni concursus sunt facti, cum alii, reminiscentes veteris famae, aetatis misererentur, plurimi vero ira exacuerentur propter prodicionis suspicionem Piraei maximeque, quod adversus populi commoda in senectute steterat. Quare ne perorandi quidem² ei data est facultas et dicendi causam in iudicio; legitimis quibusdam confectis damnatus, traditus est undecimviris, quibus ad supplicium more Atheniensium publice damnati tradi solent. Hic cum ad mortem duceretur, obvius ei fuit³ Euphiletus, quo familiariter fuerat usus. Is cum lacrimans dixisset 'O quam indigna perpeteris, Phocion!' huic ille 'At non inopinata,' inquit: 'hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses.' In hoc tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus sit eum liber sepelire. Itaque a servis sepultus est.

TIMOLEON.

	B. C.
<i>Sent to Sicily</i>	344
<i>Defeated the Carthaginians</i>	339
<i>Died</i>	337

TIMOLEON Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium iudicio hic vir exstitit. Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio an nulli, ut et patriam, in qua erat natus, oppressam a tyranno liberaret et a Syracusis, quibus auxilio erat missus, iam inveteratam servitutem depelleret totamque Siciliam multos annos bello vexatam a barbarisque oppressam suo adventu in pristinum restitueret. Sed in his rebus non simplici fortuna conflictatus est et, id quod difficilior putatur, multo sapientius tulit secundam quam adversam fortunam. Nam cum frater eius Timophanes, dux a Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per milites mercennarios occupasset particepsque regni posset esse, tantum afuit a societate sceleris, ut antetulerit civium suorum libertatem fratris saluti et parere legibus quam imperare patriae satius duxerit. Hac mente per haruspitem communemque affinem, cui soror ex eisdem parentibus nata nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum interficiendum curavit. Ipse non modo manus non attulit, sed ne aspicere quidem fratrum sanguinem voluit. Nam dum res conficeretur, procul in praesidio fuit, ne quis satellites posset succurrere. Hoc praeclarissimum eius factum non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus. Nonnulli enim laesam ab eo pietatem putabant et

invidia laudem virtutis obterebant. Mater vero post id factum neque domum ad se filium admisit neque aspexit, quin eum fratricidam impiumque detestans compellaret. Quibus 6 rebus ille adeo est commotus, ut nonnumquam vitae finem facere voluerit atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.

II. Interim Dione Syracusis interfecto Dionysius rursus Syracusarum potitus est. Cuius adversarii opem a Corinthiis petierunt ducemque, quo in bello uterentur, postularunt. Huc Timoleon missus incredibili felicitate Dionysium tota Sicilia depulit. Cum interficere posset, noluit, tutoque ut 2 Corinthum perveniret, effecit, quod utrorumque Dionysiorum opibus Corinthii saepe adiuti fuerant, cuius benignitatis memoriam volebat exstare, eamque praeclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus esset clementiae quam crudelitatis, postremo ut non solum auribus acciperetur, sed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem et ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detulisset. Post Dionysii decessum cum Hiceta bellavit, qui adversatus 3 erat Dionysio; quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse, sed cupiditate indicio fuit, quod ipse expulso Dionysio imperium dimittere noluit. Hoc superato Timoleon maximas copias 4 Carthaginensium apud Crinissum flumen fugavit ac satis habere coëgit, si liceret Africam obtinere, qui iam complures annos possessionem Siciliae tenebant. Cepit etiam Mamer-cum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicosum et potentem, qui tyrannos adiutum in Siciliam venerat.

III. Quibus rebus confectis cum propter diuturnitatem belli non solum regiones, sed etiam urbes desertas videret, conquisivit, quos potuit, primum Siculos; dein Corintho accessivit colonos, quod ab his initio Syracusae erant conditae. Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas pos- 2

sessiones divisit; urbium moenia disiecta fanaque deserta refecit; civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit; ex maximo bello tantum otium totae insulae conciliavit, ut hic conditor urbium earum, non illi, qui initio deduxerant, vide-
3 retur. Arcem, Syracusis quam munierat Dionysius ad urbem obsidendam, a fundamentis disiecit; cetera tyrannidis propugnacula demolitus est deditque operam, ut quam
4 minime multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Cum tantis esset opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem amorem haberet omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante regnum obtinere, maluit se diligi quam metui. Itaque, cum primum potuit, imperium deposuit ac privatus Syracusis,
5 quod reliquum vitae fuit, vixit. Neque vero id imperite fecit. Nam quod ceteri reges imperio potuerunt, hic benevolentia tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit, neque postea res ulla Syracusis gesta est publice, de qua prius sit
6 decretum quam Timoleontis sententia cognita. Nullius umquam consilium non modo antelatum, sed ne comparatum quidem est. Neque id magis benevolentia factum est quam prudentia.

IV. Hic cum aetate iam proventus esset, sine ullo morbo lumina oculorum amisit. Quam calamitatem ita moderate tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audierit, neque
2 eo minus privatis publicisque rebus interfuerit. Veniebat autem in theatrum, cum ibi concilium populi haberetur, propter valetudinem vectus iumentis iunctis, atque ita de vehiculo, quae videbantur, dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam tribuebat superbiae. Nihil enim umquam neque insolens
3 neque gloriosum ex ore eius exiit. Qui quidem, cum suas laudes audiret praedicari, numquam aliud dixit quam se in ea re maxime diis agere gratias atque habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum

ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine⁴ deorum numine geri putabat. Itaque suae domi sacellum Automatias constituerat idque sanctissime colebat.

V. Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserant casus. Nam proelia maxima natali suo die fecit omnia: quo factum est, ut eius diem natalem festum haberet universa Sicilia.

Huic quidam Laphystius, homo petulans et ingratus,² vadimonium cum vellet imponere, quod cum illo se lege agere diceret, et complures concurrissent, qui procacitatem hominis manibus coërcere conarentur, Timoleon oravit omnes, ne id facerent. Namque id ut Laphystio et cuivis liceret, se maximos labores summaque adisse pericula. Hanc enim speciem libertatis esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus experiri liceret. Idem, cum quidam³ Laphystii similis, nomine Demaenetus, in contione populi de rebus gestis eius detrahare coepisset ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta, dixit nunc demum se voti esse damnatum: namque hoc a diis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem libertatem restitueret Syracusanis, in qua cuivis liceret, de quo vellet, impune dicere.

Hic cum diem supremum obisset, publice a Syracusanis⁴ in gymnasio, quod Timoleonteum appellatur, tota celebrante Sicilia sepultus est.

DE REGIBUS.

Hi fere fuerunt Graecae gentis duces, qui memoria digni videantur, praeter reges. Namque eos attingere noluimus, quod omnium res gestae separatim sunt relatae. Neque tamen hi admodum sunt multi. Lacedaemonius autem Agesilaus nomine, non potestate fuit rex, sicut ceteri Spartani. Ex iis vero, qui dominatum imperio tenuerunt, excellentissimi fuerunt, ut nos iudicamus, Persarum Cyrus et Darius, Hystaspi filius; quorum uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum apud Massagetis in proelio cecidit; Darius senectute diem obiit supremum.

3 Tres sunt praeterea eiusdem generis: Xerxes et duo Artaxerxes, Macrochir cognomine et Mnemon. Xerxi maxime est illustre, quod maximis post hominum memoriam exercitibus terra marique bellum intulit Graeciae. At Macrochir praecipuam habet laudem amplissimae pulcherrimaeque corporis formae, quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli: namque illo Perses nemo manu fuit fortior. Mnemon autem iustitiae fama floruit. Nam cum matris suae scelere amisisset uxorem, tantum indulgit dolori, ut eum pietas

5 vinceret. Ex his duo eodem nomine morbo naturae debitum reddiderunt; tertius ab Artabano praefecto ferro interemptus est.

II. Ex Macedonum autem gente duo multo ceteros antecesserunt rerum gestarum gloria: Philippus, Amyntae filius, et Alexander Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo consumptus est; Philippus Aegiis a Pausania, cum spectatum

ludos iret, iuxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum populo Romano bellavit. Is cum Argos oppidum oppugnaret in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus, Dionysius prior. Nam et manu fortis² et belli peritus fuit et, id quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minime libidinosus, non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius denique rei cupidus nisi singularis perpetuique imperii ob eamque rem crudelis. Nam dum id studuit munire, nullius pepercit vitae, quem eius insidiatorem putaret. Hic cum virtute tyrannidem sibi peperisset, magna retinuit felicitate. Maior enim annos LX natus decessit florente regno neque in tam multis annis cuiusquam ex sua stirpe funus vidit, cum ex tribus uxoribus liberos procreasset multique ei nati essent nepotes.

III. Fuerunt praeterea magni reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni, qui post obitum eius imperia ceperunt, in his Antigonus et huius filius Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemaeus. Ex his Antigonus in proelio, cum adversus² Seleucum et Lysimachum dimicaret, occisus est. Pari leto affectus est Lysimachus ab Seleuco. Namque societate³ dissoluta bellum inter se gesserunt. At Demetrius, cum filiam suam Seleuco in matrimonium dedisset neque eo magis fida inter eos amicitia manere potuisset, captus bello in custodia socer generi periit a morbo. Neque ita multo⁴ post Seleucus a Ptolemaeo Cerauno dolo interfectus est, quem ille a patre expulsum Alexandria, alienarum opum indigentem receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemaeus, cum vivus filio regnum tradidisset, ab illo eodem vita privatus dicitur.

De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommo-⁵ dum videtur non praeterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem, quos et animi magnitudine et calliditate omnes in Africa natos praestitisse constat.

XXII.

HAMILCAR.

	B. C.
<i>Commanded in Sicily</i>	247
<i>Fortified Eryx</i>	244
<i>Ended Mercenary War</i>	238
<i>Died</i>	229

HAMILCAR, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barca, Karthaginiensis, primo Poenico bello, sed temporibus extremis, admodum adolescentulus in Sicilia praeesse coepit exercitui.

2 Cum autem eius adventu et mari et terra male res gererentur Karthaginiensium, ipse, ubi affuit, numquam hosti cessit neque locum nocendi dedit saepeque e contrario occasione data laccessivit semperque superior discessit. Quo facto, cum paene omnia in Sicilia Poeni amisissent, ille Erycem sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum non videretur.

3 Interim Karthaginienses classe apud insulas Aegatis a C. Lutatio, consule Romanorum, superati statuerunt belli facere finem eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris. Ille etsi flagrabat bellandi cupiditate, tamen paci serviundum putavit, quod patriam, exhaustam sumptibus, diutius calamitates belli ferre non posse intellegebat, sed ita, ut statim mente agitaret, si paulum modo res essent refectae, bellum renovare Romanosque armis persequi, donicum aut virtute

5 vicissent aut victi manus dedissent. Hoc consilio pacem conciliavit; in quo tanta fuit ferocia, cum Catulus negaret

bellum compositurum, nisi ille cum suis, qui Erycem tenuerunt, armis relictis Sicilia decederent, ut succumbente patria ipse periturum se potius dixerit, quam cum tanto flagitio domum rediret. Non enim suae esse virtutis arma a patria accepta adversus hostis adversariis tradere. Huius pertinaciae cessit Catulus.

II. At ille, ut Karthaginem venit, multo aliter, ac sperarat, rem publicam se habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate externi mali tantum exarsit intestinum bellum, ut numquam pari periculo fuerit Karthago, nisi cum deleta est. Primo, 2 mercennarii milites qui adversus Romanos fuerant, desciverunt; quorum numerus erat xx milium. Hi totam abalienarunt Africam, ipsam Karthaginem oppugnarunt. Quibus 3 malis adeo sunt Poeni perterriti, ut etiam auxilia ab Romanis petierint; eaque impetrarunt. Sed extremo, cum prope iam ad desperationem pervenissent, Hamilcarem imperatorem fecerunt. Is non solum hostes a muris Karthaginis removit, 4 cum amplius c milia facta essent armatorum, sed etiam eo compulit, ut locorum angustiis clausi plures fame quam ferro interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in his Uticam atque Hipponem, valentissima totius Africae, restituit patriae. Neque eo fuit contentus, sed etiam fines imperii 5 propagavit, tota Africa tantum otium reddidit, ut nullum in ea bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.

III. Rebus his ex sententia peractis fidenti animo atque infesto Romanis, quo facilius causam bellandi reperiret, effecit, ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam mitteretur, eoque secum duxit filium Hannibalem annorum novem. Erat praeterea cum eo adulescens illustris, formosus, Has- 2 drubal. Hamilcare occiso ille exercitui praefuit resque magnas gessit et princeps largitione vetustos pervertit mores

Karthaginiensium eiusdemque post mortem Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium.

IV. At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit in Hispaniam-
que venit, magnas res secunda gessit fortuna; maximas
bellicosissimasque gentes subegit; equis, viris, pecunia totam
2 locupletavit Africam. Hic cum in Italiam bellum inferre
meditaretur, nono anno, postquam in Hispaniam venerat, in
3 proelio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est. Huius per-
petuum odium erga Romanos maxime concitasse videtur
secundum bellum Poenicum. Namque Hannibal, filius eius,
assiduis patris obtestationibus eo est perductus, ut interire
quam Romanos non experiri mallet.

XXIII.

HANNIBAL.

	B. C.
<i>Born</i>	247
<i>Made Commander-in-Chief</i>	221
<i>Besieged Saguntum</i>	219
<i>Crossed the Alps</i>	218
<i>Fought at Thrasymenus</i>	217
<i>Fought at Cannae</i>	216
<i>Retired from Italy</i>	203
<i>Fought at Zama</i>	202
<i>Went to Antiochus</i>	193
<i>Died about</i>	182

HANNIBAL, Hamilcaris filius, Karthaginiensis. Si verum est, quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes virtute superarit, non est infitiandum Hannibalem tanto praestitisse ceteros imperatores prudentia, quanto populus Romanus antecadat fortitudine cunctas nationes. Nam quotienscumque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper discessit superior. Quod nisi domi civium suorum invidia debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem.

Hic autem velut hereditate relictum odium paternum erga Romanos sic conservavit, ut prius animam quam id deposuerit, qui quidem, cum patria pulsus esset et alienarum opum indigeret, numquam destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis.

II. Nam ut omittam Philippum, quem absens hostem reddidit Romanis, omnium his temporibus potentissimus rex Antiochus fuit. Hunc tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut
2 usque a rubro mari arma conatus sit inferre Italiae. Ad quem cum legati venissent Romani, qui de eius voluntate explorarent darentque operam, consiliis clandestinis ut Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent, tamquam ab ipsis corruptum, alia atque antea sentire, neque id frustra fecissent idque Hannibal comperisset seque ab interioribus consiliis
3 segregari vidisset, tempore dato adiit ad regem, eique cum multa de fide sua et odio in Romanos commemorasset, hoc adiunxit. 'Pater meus,' inquit, 'Hamilcar, puerulo me, utpote non amplius VIII annos nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens Karthagine, Iovi optimo maximo hostias immolavit.
4 Quae divina res dum conficiebatur, quaesivit a me, vellemne secum in castra proficisci. Id cum libenter accepissem atque ab eo petere coepissem, ne dubitaret ducere, tum ille Faciam, inquit, si mihi fidem, quam postulo, dederis. Simul me ad aram adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat, eamque ceteris remotis tenentem iurare iussit numquam me in
5 amicitia cum Romanis fore. Id ego iusiurandum patri datum usque ad hanc aetatem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse debeat, quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus.
6 Quare, si quid amice de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter feceris, si me celaris; cum quidem bellum parabis, te ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris.'

III. Hac igitur, qua diximus, aetate cum patre in Hispaniam profectus est. Cuius post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore suffecto, equitatu omni praefuit. Hoc quoque interfecto exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit. Id,
2 Karthaginem delatum, publice comprobatum est. Sic Hannibal, minor v et xx annis natus imperator factus, proximo

triennio omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit; Saguntum, foederatam civitatem, vi expugnavit; tres exercitus maximos comparavit. Ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum 3 Hasdrubale fratre in Hispania reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit. Saltum Pyrenaeum transiit. Quaecumque iter fecit, cum omnibus incolis confligit: neminem nisi victum dimisit. Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, quae Italiam ab Gallia 4 seiungunt, quas nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem Graium transierat, quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur, Alpibus conantes prohibere transitu concidit; loca patefecit, itinera muniit, effecit, ut ea elephanti ornati ire posset, quae antea unus homo inermis vix poterat reperire. Hac copias traduxit in Italiamque pervenit.

IV. Confluxerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione consule eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem Clastidium apud Padum decernit sauciumque inde ac fugatum dimittit. Tertio idem Scipio cum collega Ti. Longo apud Tre- 2 biam adversus eum venit. Cum his manum conseruit, utrosque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum transiit, petens Etruriam. Hoc itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur 3 oculorum, ut postea numquam dextro aequè bene usus sit. Qua valetudine cum etiamnum premeretur lecticaque ferretur, C. Flaminium consulem apud Trasumenum cum exercitu insidiis circumventum occidit neque multo post C. Cennium praetorem cum delecta manu saltus occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit. Ibi obviam ei venerunt duo 4 consules, C. Terentius et L. Aemilius. Utriusque exercitus uno proelio fugavit, Paulum consulem occidit et aliquot praeterea consulares, in his Servilium Geminum, qui superiore anno fuerat consul.

V. Hac pugna pugnata Romam profectus est nullo resis-

tente. In propinquis urbi montibus moratus est. Cum aliquot ibi dies castra habuisset et Capuam reverteretur, Q. Fabius Maximus, dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se obiecit. Hic clausus locorum angustiis noctu sine ullo detrimento exercitus se expeditivit Fabioque, callidissimo imperatori, dedit verba. Namque obducta nocte sarmenta in cornibus iuvenorum deligata incendit eiusque generis multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino obiecto visu tantum terrorem iniecit exercitui Romanorum, ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. Hanc post rem gestam non ita multis diebus M. Minucium Rufum, magistrum equitum pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo productum in proelium fugavit. Ti. Sempronium Gracchum, iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens in insidias inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquies consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit. Longum est omnia enumerare proelia. Quare hoc unum satis erit dictum, ex quo intellegi possit, quantus ille fuerit: quamdiu in Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit, nemo adversus eum post Cannensem pugnam in campo castra posuit.

VI. Hinc invictus patriam defensum revocatus bellum gessit adversus P. Scipionem, filium eius Scipionis, quem ipse primo apud Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum, tertio apud Trebiam fugarat. Cum hoc exhaustis iam patriae facultatibus cupivit impraesentiarum bellum componere, quo valentior postea congrediretur. In colloquium convenit; condiciones non convenerunt. Post id factum paucis diebus apud Zamam cum eodem confligit: pulsus (incredibile dictu) biduo et duabus noctibus Hadrumentum pervenit, quod abest ab Zama circiter milia passuum trecenta. In hac fuga Numidae, qui simul cum eo ex acie excesserant, insidiati sunt ei; quos non solum effugit, sed etiam ipsos oppressit.

Hadrumeti reliquos e fuga collegit; novis dilectibus paucis diebus multos contraxit. •

VII. Cum in apparando acerrime esset occupatus, Karthaginienses bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille nihilo secius exercitui postea praefuit resque in Africa gessit itemque Mago, frater eius, usque ad P. Sulpicium C. Aurelium consules. His enim magistratibus legati Karthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quod cum his pacem fecissent, ob eamque rem corona aurea eos donarent simulque peterent, ut obsides eorum Fregellis essent captivique redderentur. His ex senatus consulto responsum est: munus eorum gratum acceptumque esse; obsides, quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non remissuros, quod Hannibalem, cuius opera susceptum bellum foret, inimicissimum nomini Romano, etiamnunc cum imperio apud exercitum haberent itemque fratrem eius Magonem. Hoc responso Karthaginienses cognito Hannibalem domum et Magonem revocarunt. Huc ut rediit, praetor factus est, postquam rex fuerat, anno secundo et vicesimo. Ut enim Romae consules, sic Karthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magistratu pari diligentia se Hannibal praebuit, ac fuerat in bello. Namque effecit, ex novis vectigalibus non solum ut esset pecunia, quae Romanis ex foedere penderetur, sed etiam superesset, quae in aerario reponeretur. Deinde anno post praeturam, M. Claudio L. Furio consulibus, Roma legati Karthaginem venerunt. Hos Hannibal ratus sui exposcendi gratia missos, priusquam his senatus daretur, navem ascendit clam atque in Syriam ad Antiochum profugit. Hac re palam facta Poeni naves duas, quae eum comprehenderent, si possent consequi, miserunt, bona eius publicarunt, domum a fundamentis disiecerunt, ipsum exulem iudicarunt.

VIII. At Hannibal anno tertio, postquam domo profugerat, L. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus, cum v navibus Africam accessit in finibus Cyrenaeorum, si forte Karthaginienses ad bellum Antiochi spe fiduciaque possent induci, cui iam persuaserat, ut cum exercitibus in Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem excivit. Id ubi Poeni resciverunt, Magonem eadem, qua fratrem, absentem affecerunt poena. Illi desperatis rebus cum solvissent naves ac vela ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria prodita est. Namque alii naufragio, alii a servulis ipsius interfectum eum scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem, si tam in gerendo bello consiliis eius parere voluisset, quam in suscipiendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quam Thermopylis de summa imperii dimicasset. Quem etsi multa stulte conari videbat, tamen nulla deseruit in re. Praefuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria iussus erat in Asiam ducere, hisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio mari conflixit. Quo cum multitudine adversariorum sui superarentur, ipse, quo cornu rem gessit, fuit superior.

IX. Antiocho fugato, verens, ne dederetur, quod sine dubio accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem, Cretam ad Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quo se conferret, consideraret. Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus magno se fore periculo, nisi quid providisset, propter avaritiam Cretensium. Magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capit tale consilium. Amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro et argento. Has praesentibus principibus deponit in templo Dianae, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei credere. His in errorem inductis statuas aëneas, quas secum portabat, omni sua pecunia complet easque in propatulo domi abicit. Gortynii

templum magna cura custodiunt, non tam a ceteris quam ab Hannibale, ne ille inscientibus his tolleret secumque duceret.

X. Sic conservatis suis rebus Poenus, illis Cretensibus omnibus, ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit. Apud quem eodem animo fuit erga Italiam neque aliud quicquam egit quam regem armavit et exercuit adversus Romanos. Quem cum videret domesticis opibus minus esse robustum, conciliabat ceteros reges, adiungebat bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus, bellumque inter eos gerebatur et mari et terra; quo magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi. Sed utrobique Eumenes plus valebat propter Romanorum societatem; quem si removisset, faciliora sibi cetera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc interficiendum talem iniit rationem. Classe paucis diebus erant decreturi. Superabatur navium multitudine; dolo erat pugnandum, cum par non esset armis. Imperavit quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi easque in vasa fictilia conici. Harum cum effecisset magnam multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale proelium, classarios convocat hisque praecipit, omnes ut in unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a ceteris tantum satis habeant se defendere. Id illos facile serpentium multitudine consecuturos. Rex autem in qua nave veheretur, ut scirent, se facturum. Quem si aut cepissent aut interfecissent, magno his pollicetur praemio fore.

XI. Tali cohortatione militum facta classis ab utrisque in proelium deducitur. Quarum acie constituta, priusquam signum pugnae daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret suis, quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium in scapha cum caduceo mittit. Qui ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit epistolam-2

que ostendens se regem professus est quaerere, statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat, quin aliquid de pace esset scriptum. Tabellarius ducis nave declarata
3 suis eodem, unde erat egressus, se recepit. At Eumenes soluta epistula nihil in ea repperit, nisi quae ad irridendum eum pertinerent. Cuius etsi causam mirabatur neque re-
periebatur, tamen proelium statim committere non dubitavit.
4 Horum in concursu Bithynii Hannibalis praecepto universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur. Quorum vim rex cum sus-
tinere non posset, fuga salutem petit; quam consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua praesidia se recepisset, quae in
5 proximo litore erant collocata. Reliquae Pergamenae naves cum adversarios premerent acrius, repente in eas vasa fic-
tilia, de quibus supra mentionem fecimus, conici coepta sunt. Quae iacta initio risum pugnantibus concitarunt,
6 neque, quare id fieret, poterat intellegi. Postquam autem naves suas oppletas conspexerunt serpentibus, nova re per-
territi, cum, quid potissimum vitarent, non viderent, puppes
7 verterunt seque ad sua castra nautica rettulerunt. Sic Han-
nibal consilio arma Pergamenorum superavit neque tum solum, sed saepe alias pedestribus copiis pari prudentia
populit adversarios.

XII. Quae dum in Asia geruntur, accidit casu, ut legati Prusiae Romae apud L. Quintium Flamininum consularem cenarent atque ibi de Hannibale mentione facta ex his
2 unus diceret eum in Prusiae regno esse. Id postero die Flamininus senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui Hannibale vivo numquam se sine insidiis futuros existimarent, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in his Flamininum, qui ab rege peterent, ne inimicissimum suum secum haberet sibi-
3 que dederet. His Prusia negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, ne id a se fieri postularent, quod adversus ius hospitii esset:

ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent; locum, ubi esset, facile inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in castello, quod ei a rege datum erat muneri, idque sic aedificarat, ut in omnibus partibus aedificii exitus haberet, scilicet verens, ne usu veniret, quod accidit. Huc cum legati Romanorum venissent ac multitudine domum eius circumdedissent, puer ab ianua prospiciens Hannibali dixit plures praeter consuetudinem armatos apparere. Qui imperavit ei, ut omnes fores aedificii circumiret ac propere sibi nuntiaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur. Puer cum celeriter, quid esset, renuntiasset omnesque exitus occupatos ostendisset, sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam. Quam ne alieno arbitrio dimitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum venenum, quod semper secum habere consuerat, sumpsit.

XIII. Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus, anno acquievit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit, non convenit. Namque Atticus M. Claudio Marcello Q. Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum in annali suo scriptum reliquit, at Polybius L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, Sulpicius autem Blitho P. Cornelio Cethego M. Baebio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir tantisque bellis districtus nonnihil temporis tribuit litteris. Namque aliquot eius libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti, in his ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volsonis in Asia rebus gestis. Huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex his duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt, quamdiu fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosilus Lacedaemonius. Atque hoc Sosilo Hannibal litterarum Graecarum usus est doctore.

Sed nos tempus est huius libri facere finem et Romanorum explicare imperatores, quo facilius collatis utrorumque factis, qui viri praeferendi sint, possit iudicari.

XXIV.

EX LIBRO

CORNELII NEPOTIS

DE LATINIS HISTORICIS.

CATO.

	B. C.
<i>Born</i>	234
<i>Quaestor</i>	205
<i>Praetor in Sardinia</i>	198
<i>Consul</i>	195
<i>Commanded in Spain</i>	194
<i>Censor</i>	184
<i>Died</i>	149

M. CATO, ortus municipio Tusculo, adolescentulus, priusquam honoribus operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quod ibi heredium a patre relictum habebat. Inde hortatu L. Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censuraque habuit collegam, ut M. Perpenna censorius narrare solitus est, Romam² demigravit in foroque esse coepit. Primum stipendium meruit annorum decem septemque. Q. Fabio M. Claudio consulibus tribunus militum in Sicilia fuit. Inde ut rediit, castra secutus est Claudii Neronis, magnique opera eius existimata est in proelio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdru-³ bal, frater Hannibalis. Quaestor obtigit P. Africano consuli;

cum quo non pro sortis necessitudine vixit: namque ab eo perpetua dissensit vita. Aedilis plebi factus est cum C. Helvio. Praetor provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua, quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens, Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat; quod non minoris aestimamus quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum.

II. Consulatum gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco, sorte provinciam nactus Hispaniam citeriorem, exque ea triumphum deportavit. Ibi cum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus, consul iterum, cuius in priori consulatu quaestor fuerat, voluit eum de provincia depellere et ipse ei succedere neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scipio principatum in civitate obtineret, quod tum non potentia, sed iure res publica administrabatur. Qua ex re iratus senatu, consulatu peracto privatus in urbe mansit. At Cato, censor cum eodem Flacco factus, severe praefuit ei potestati. Nam et in complures nobiles animadvertit et multas res novas in edictum addidit, qua re luxuria reprimeretur, quae iam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter annos octoginta, usque ad extremam aetatem ab adolescentia, rei publicae causa suscipere inimicitias non destitit. A multis temptatus non modo nullum detrimentum existimationis fecit, sed, quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit.

III. In omnibus rebus singulari fuit industria. Nam et agricola sollers et peritus iuris consultus et magnus imperator et probabilis orator et cupidissimus litterarum fuit. Quarum studium etsi senior arripuerat, tamen tantum progressum fecit, ut non facile reperiri possit neque de Graecis neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab adolescentia confecit orationes. Senex historias scribere instituit. Earum sunt libri vii. Primus continet res gestas regum populi

- Romani; secundus et tertius, unde quaeque civitas orta sit Italica; ob quam rem omnes Origines videtur appellasse.
- In quarto autem bellum Poenicum est primum, in quinto
4 secundum. Atque haec omnia capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliquaque bella pari modo persecutus est usque ad praeturam Ser. Galbae, qui diripuit Lusitanos; atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. In eisdem exposuit, quae in Italia Hispaniisque aut fierent aut viderentur admiranda. In quibus multa industria et diligentia comparet, nulla doctrina.
- 5 Huius de vita et moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus, quem separatim de eo fecimus rogatu T. Pomponii Attici. Quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen delegamus.

XXV.

ATTICUS.

	B. C.
<i>Born</i>	109
<i>Went to Athens</i>	85
<i>Returned to Rome</i>	65
<i>Died</i>	32

T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS, ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae generatus, perpetuo a maioribus acceptam equestrem obtinuit dignitatem. Patre usus est diligente et, ut tum erant tempora, diti in primisque studioso litterarum. Hic, prout ipse amabat litteras, omnibus doctrinis, quibus puerilis aetas impertiri debet, filium erudivit. Erat autem in puero praeter docilitatem ingenii summa suavitas oris atque vocis, ut non solum celeriter acciperet, quae tradebantur, sed etiam excelenter pronuntiaret. Qua ex re in pueritia nobilis inter aequales ferebatur clariusque exsplendescebat, quam generosi condiscipuli animo aequo ferre possent. Itaque incitabat omnes studio suo. Quo in numero fuerunt L. Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero; quos consuetudine sua sic devinxit, ut nemo his perpetuo fuerit carior.

II. Pater mature decessit. Ipse adolescentulus propter affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui tribunus plebi interfectus est, non expers fuit illius periculi. Namque Anicia, Pomponii conso-
brina, nupserat Servio, fratri Sulpicii. Itaque interfecto Sulpicio, posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu civitatem esse

perturbatam neque sibi dari facultatem pro dignitate videndi, quin alterutram partem offenderet, dissociatis animis civium, cum alii Sullanis, alii Cinnanis faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis, Athenas se contulit. Neque eo setius adulescentem Marium hostem iudicatum
3 iuvit opibus suis, cuius fugam pecunia sublevavit. Ac ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum aliquod afferret rei familiari, eodem magnam partem fortunarum traiecit suarum. Hic ita vixit,
4 ut universis Atheniensibus merito esset carissimus. Nam praeter gratiam, quae iam in adulescentulo magna erat, saepe suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit. Cum enim versuram facere publice necesse esset neque eius condicionem aequam haberent, semper se interposuit atque ita, ut neque usuram iniquam ab his acceperit neque longius, quam
5 dictum esset, debere passus sit. Quod utrumque erat his salutare. Nam neque indulgendo inveterascere eorum aes alienum patiebatur neque multiplicandis usuris crescere.
6 Auxit hoc officium alia quoque liberalitate. Nam universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis seni modii tritici darentur; qui modus mensurae medimnus Athenis appellatur.

III. Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par principibus videretur. Quo factum est, ut huic omnes honores, quos possent, publice haberent civemque facere studerent; quo beneficio ille uti noluit, quod nonnulli ita inter-
2 pretantur, amitti civitatem Romanam alia ascita. Quamdiu affuit, ne qua sibi statua poneretur, restitit; absens prohibere non potuit. Itaque aliquot ipsi et Midiae locis sanctissimis posuerunt: hunc enim in omni procuratione rei publicae
3 actorem auctoremque habebant. Igitur primum illud munus fortunae, quod in ea potissimum urbe natus est, in qua domicilium orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem propriam haberet domum; hoc speciem prudentiae, quod, cum in

eam se civitatem contulisset, quae antiquitate, humanitate doctrinaque praestaret omnes, unus ei fuit carissimus.

IV. Huc ex Asia Sulla decedens cum venisset, quamdiu ibi fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adolescentis et humanitate et doctrina. Sic enim Graece loquebatur, ut Athenis natus videretur; tanta autem suavitas erat sermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quendam leporem esse, non ascitum. Idem poëmata pronuntiabat et Graece et Latine sic, ut supra nihil posset addi. Quibus rebus factum est, ut Sulla nusquam ab se dimitteret cuperetque secum deducere. Qui cum persuadere temptaret, ‘Noli, oro te,’ inquit Pomponius, ‘adversum eos me velle ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui.’ At Sulla adolescentis officio collaudato omnia munera ei, quae Athenis acceperat, proficiscens iussit deferri.

Hic complures annos moratus, cum et rei familiari tantum operae daret, quantum non indiligens deberet paterfamilias, et omnia reliqua tempora aut litteris aut Atheniensium rei publicae tribueret, nihilo minus amicis urbana officia praestitit. Nam et ad comitia eorum ventitavit, et si qua res maior acta est, non defuit. Sicut Ciceroni in omnibus eius periculis singularem fidem praebuit; cui ex patria fugienti HS ducenta et quinquaginta milia donavit. Tranquillatis autem rebus Romanis remigravit Romam, ut opinor, L. Cotta et L. Torquato consulibus. Quem diem sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est, ut lacrimis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.

V. Habebat avunculum Q. Caecilium, equitem Romanum, familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficillima natura. Cuius sic asperitatem veritus est, ut, quem nemo ferre posset, huius sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit benevo-

2 lentiam. Quo facto tulit pietatis fructum. Caecilius enim
 moriens testamento adoptavit eum heredemque fecit ex
 dodrante; ex qua hereditate accepit circiter centiens sester-
 3 tium. Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni, easque
 nuptias M. Cicero conciliarat, cum quo a condiscipulatu
 vivebat coniunctissime, multo etiam familiaris quam cum
 Quinto, ut iudicari possit plus in amicitia valere similitudinem
 4 morum quam affinitatem. Utebatur autem intime Q. Hor-
 tensio, qui his temporibus principatum eloquentiae tenebat,
 ut intellegi non posset, uter eum plus diligeret, Cicero an
 Hortensius, et, id quod erat difficillimum, efficiebat, ut, inter
 quos tantae laudis esset aemulatio, nulla intercederet obtrec-
 tatio essetque talium virorum copula.

VI. In re publica ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum
 partium et esset et existimaretur, neque tamen se civilibus
 fluctibus committeret, quod non magis eos in sua potestate
 existimabat esse, qui se his dedissent, quam qui maritimis
 2 iactarentur. Honores non petiit, cum ei paterent propter
 vel gratiam vel dignitatem, quod neque peti more maiorum
 neque capi possent conservatis legibus in tam effusi ambitus
 largitionibus neque geri e re publica sine periculo corruptis
 3 civitatis moribus. Ad hastam publicam numquam accessit.
 Nullius rei neque praes neque manceps factus est. Neminem
 neque suo nomine neque subscribens accusavit; in ius
 4 de sua re numquam iit; iudicium nullum habuit. Multorum
 consulum praetorumque praefecturas delatas sic accepit, ut
 neminem in provinciam sit secutus, honore fuerit contentus,
 rei familiaris despexerit fructum; qui ne cum Q. quidem
 Cicerone voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati locum
 obtinere posset. Non enim decere se arbitrabatur, cum
 5 praeturam gerere noluisset, asseclam esse praetoris. Qua in
 re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam tranquillitati, cum

suspicionē quoque vitaret criminum. Quo fiebat, ut eius observantia omnibus esset carior, cum eam officio, non timori neque spei tribui viderent.

VII. Incidit Caesarianum civile bellum, cum haberet annos circiter sexaginta. Usus est aetatis vacatione neque se quoquam movit ex urbe. Quae amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompeium proficiscentibus, omnia ex sua re familiari dedit. Ipsum Pompeium coniunctum non offendit. Nullum ab eo² habebat ornamentum, ut ceteri, qui per eum aut honores aut divitias ceperant; quorum partim invitissimi castra sunt secuti, partim summa cum eius offensione domi remanserunt. Attici autem quies tantopere Caesari fuit grata, ut victor,³ cum privatis pecunias per epistolas imperaret, huic non solum molestus non fuerit, sed etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem ex Pompeii castris concesserit. Sic vetere instituto vitae effugit nova pericula.

VIII. Secutum est illud occiso Caesare, cum res publica penes Brutos videretur esse et Cassium ac tota civitas se ad eos convertisse videretur. Sic M. Bruto usus est, ut nullo² ille adulescens aequali familiaris quam hoc sene neque solum eum principem consilii haberet, sed etiam in convictu. Excogitatum est a quibusdam, ut privatum aerarium Caesaris³ interfectoris ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur. Id facile effici posse arbitrati sunt, si principes eius ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est a C. Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut eius rei princeps esse vellet. At⁴ ille, qui officia amicis praestanda sine factione existimaret semperque a talibus se consiliis removisset, respondit: si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset, usurum, quantum hae paterentur; sed neque cum quoquam de ea re collocuturum neque coiturum. Sic ille consensionis globus

5 huius unius dissensione disiectus est. Neque multo post superior esse coepit Antonius, ita ut Brutus et Cassius provinciarum, quae iis dicis causa datae erant a consule,
6 desperatis rebus in exilium proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum ceteris conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abiecto Bruto Italiaque cedenti HS centum milia muneri misit, eidem in Epiro absens trecenta iussit dari, neque eo magis potenti adulatus est Antonio neque desperatos reliquit.

IX. Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam. In quo si tantum eum prudentem dicam, minus, quam debeam, praedicem, cum ille potius divinus fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est perpetua naturalis bonitas, quae nullis casibus
2 agitur neque minuitur. Hostis Antonius iudicatus Italia cesserat; spes restituendi nulla erat. Non solum inimici, qui tum erant potentissimi et plurimi, sed etiam, qui adversariis eius se dabant et in eo laedendo aliquam consecuturos sperabant commoditatem, Antonii familiares insequabantur, uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus spoliare cupiebant, liberos
3 etiam exstinguere parabant. Atticus, cum Ciceronis intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non modo nihil his indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed e contrario familiares eius ex urbe profugientes, quantum potuit, texit,
4 quibus rebus indiguerunt, adiuvit. P. vero Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura a parente proficisci non potuerint. Ipsi autem Fulviae, cum litibus distineretur magnisque terroribus vexaretur, tanta diligentia officium suum praestitit, ut nullum illa stiterit
5 vadimonium sine Attico, sponsor omnium rerum fuerit. Quin etiam, cum illa fundum secunda fortuna emisset in diem neque post calamitatem versuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit pecuniamque sine fenore sineque ulla stipulatione credidit, maximum existimans quaestum memorem gratum-

que cognosci simulque aperire se non fortunae, sed hominibus solere esse amicum. Quae cum faciebat, nemo eum temporis causa facere poterat existimare. Nemini enim in opinionem veniebat Antonium rerum potiturum. Sed sensus 7 is a nonnullis optimatibus, familiaribus eius, reprehendebatur, quod parum odisse malos cives videretur. Ille autem, sui iudicii, potius, quid se facere par esset, intuebatur, quam quid alii laudaturi forent.

X. Conversa subito fortuna est. Ut Antonius rediit in Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum putarat propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis et Bruti. Itaque ad 2 adventum imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens proscriptionem, latebatque apud P. Volumnium, cui, ut ostendimus, paulo ante opem tulerat (tanta varietas his temporibus fuit fortunae, ut modo hi, modo illi in summo essent aut fastigio aut periculo), habebatque secum Q. Gellium Canum, aequalem simillimumque sui. Hoc quoque sit Attici bonitatis 3 exemplum, quod cum eo, quem puerum in ludo cognorat, adeo coniuncte vixit, ut ad extremam aetatem amicitia eorum creverit. Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio ferebatur in Ci- 4 ceronem, ut non solum ei, sed etiam omnibus eius amicis esset inimicus eosque vellet proscribere, multis hortantibus tamen Attici memor fuit officii et ei, cum requisisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit, ne timeret statimque ad se veniret: se eum et illius causa Canum de proscriptorum numero exemisse. Ac ne quod periculum incideret, quod noctu fiebat, praesidium ei misit. Sic Atticus in summo timore non solum 5 sibi, sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat, praesidio fuit. Neque enim suae solum a quoquam auxilium petiit salutis, sed ut appareret nullam seiunctam sibi ab eo velle fortunam. Quod si gubernator praecipua laude fertur, qui navem ex 6 hieme marique scopuloso servat, cur non singularis eius

existimetur prudentia, qui ex tot tamque gravibus procellis civilibus ad incolumitatem pervenit?

XI. Quibus ex malis ut se emersit, nihil aliud egit, quam ut plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio. Cum proscriptos praemiis imperatorum vulgus conquereret, nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit, nemini non ibi perpetuo
 2 manendi potestas facta est: qui etiam post proelium Philippense interitumque C. Cassii et M. Bruti L. Iulium Mocillam praetorium et filium eius Aulumque Torquatum ceterosque pari fortuna perculos instituerit tueri atque ex
 3 Epiro his omnia Samothraeciam supportari iusserit. Difficile est omnia persequi et non necessarium. Illud unum intellegi volumus, illius liberalitatem neque temporariam neque
 4 callidam fuisse. Id ex ipsis rebus ac temporibus iudicari potest, quod non florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit; qui quidem Serviliam, Bruti matrem, non
 5 minus post mortem eius quam florentem coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens nullas inimicitias gessit, quod neque laedebat quemquam neque, si quam iniuriam acceperat, non malebat oblivisci quam ulcisci. Idem immortalī memoria percepta retinebat beneficia; quae autem ipse tribuerat, tamdiu me-
 6 minerat, quoad ille gratus erat, qui acceperat. Itaque hic fecit, ut vere dictum videatur

Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam hominibus.

Neque tamen ille prius fortunam quam se ipse finxit, qui cavit, ne qua in re iure plecteretur.

XII. His igitur rebus effecit, ut M. Vipsanius Agrippa, intima familiaritate coniunctus adulescenti Caesari, cum propter suam gratiam et Caesaris potentiam nullius conditionis non haberet potestatem, potissimum eius deligeret affinitatem praeoptaretque equitis Romani filiam genero-

sarum nuptiis. Atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non 2
 est enim celandum) M. Antonius, triumvir rei publicae.
 Cuius gratia cum augere possessiones posset suas, tantum
 afuit a cupiditate pecuniae, ut nulla in re usus sit ea nisi
 in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis aut incommodis.
 Quod quidem sub ipsa proscriptione perillustre fuit. Nam 3
 cum L. Saufei, equitis Romani, aequalis sui, qui complures
 annos studio ductus philosophiae habitabat Athenis habe-
 batque in Italia pretiosas possessiones, triumviri bona ven-
 didissent consuetudine ea, qua tum res gerebantur, Attici
 labore atque industria factum est, ut eodem nuntio Saufei
 fieret certior se patrimonium amisisse et recuperasse. Idem 4
 L. Iulium Calidum, quem post Lucretii Catullique mortem
 multo elegantissimum poetam nostram tulisse aetatem vere
 videor posse contendere neque minus virum bonum opti-
 misque artibus eruditum; quem post proscriptionem equitum
 propter magnas eius Africanas possessiones in proscrip-
 torum numerum a P. Volumnio, praefecto fabrum Antonii,
 absentem relatum expedit. Quod in praesenti utrum ei 5
 laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile est iudicare, quod
 in eorum periculis non secus absentes quam praesentes
 amicos Attico esse curae cognitum est.

XIII. Neque vero ille vir minus bonus paterfamilias ha-
 bitus est quam civis. Nam cum esset pecuniosus, nemo
 illo minus fuit emax, minus aedificator. Neque tamen non
 in primis bene habitavit omnibusque optimis rebus usus est.
 Nam domum habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilianam, ab 2
 avunculo hereditate relictam; cuius amoenitas non aedificio,
 sed silva constabat. Ipsum enim tectum antiquitus con-
 stitutum plus salis quam sumptus habebat; in quo nihil
 commutavit, nisi si quid vetustate coactus est. Usus est 3
 familia, si utilitate iudicandum est, optima; si forma, vix

mediocri. Namque in ea erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere posset, pari modo artifices ceteri, quos cultus domesticus
4 desiderat, apprime boni. Neque tamen horum quemquam nisi domi natum domique factum habuit; quod est signum non solum continentiae, sed etiam diligentiae. Nam et non intemperanter concupiscere, quod a plurimis videas, continentis debet duci, et potius diligentia quam pretio parare
5 non mediocris est industriae. Elegans, non magnificus; splendidus, non sumptuosus: omnisque diligentia munditiam, non affluentiam affectabat. Supellex modica, non
6 multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset. Nec hoc praeteribo, quamquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem: cum in primis lautus esset eques Romanus et non parum liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret, scimus non amplius quam terna milia peraeque in singulos menses ex ephemeride eum expensum sumptui ferre solitum.
7 tum. Atque hoc non auditum, sed cognitum praedicamus: saepe enim propter familiaritatem domesticis rebus interfuimus.

XIV. Nemo in convivio eius aliud acroama audivit quam anagnosten; quod nos quidem iucundissimum arbitramur: neque umquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cenatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivae delectarentur.
2 Namque eos vocabat, quorum mores a suis non abhorrerent. Cum tanta pecuniae facta esset accessio, nihil de cottidiano cultu mutavit, nihil de vitae consuetudine tantaque usus est moderatione, ut neque in sestertio viciens, quod a patre acceperat, parum se splendide gesserit neque in sestertio centiens affluentius vixerit, quam instituerat, parique fastigio
3 steterit in utraque fortuna. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam

suburbanam aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia praeter Arretinum et Nomentanum rusticum praedium, omnisque eius pecuniae reditus constabat in Epiroticis et urbanis possessionibus. Ex quo cognosci potest usum eum pecuniae non magnitudine, sed ratione metiri solitum.

XV. Mendacium neque dicebat neque pati poterat. Itaque eius comitas non sine severitate erat neque gravitas sine facilitate, ut difficile esset intellectu, utrum eum amici magis vererentur an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiose promittebat, quod non liberalis, sed levis arbitrabatur polliceri, quod praestare non posset. Idem in nitendo, cum 2 semel annuisset, tanta erat cura, ut non mandatam, sed suam rem videretur agere. Numquam suscepti negotii eum peritum est: suam enim existimationem in ea re agi putabat; qua nihil habebat carius. Quo fiebat, ut omnia Ciceronum, 3 Catonis, Q. Hortensii, Auli Torquati, multorum praeterea equitum Romanorum negotia procuraret. Ex quo iudicari poterat non inertia, sed iudicio fugisse rei publicae procurationem.

XVI. Humanitatis vero nullum afferre maius testimonium possum, quam quod adolescens idem seni Sullae fuit iucundissimus, senex adolescenti M. Bruto, cum aequalibus autem suis, Q. Hortensio et M. Cicerone, sic vixit, ut iudicare difficile sit, cui aetati fuerit aptissimus. Quamquam eum 2 praecipue dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior fuerit aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio praeter eos 3 libros, in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt editi, undecim volumina epistularum ab consulatu eius usque ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum; quae qui legat, non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum. Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum, 4

mutationibus rei publicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in his non appareat et facile existimari possit prudentiam quodammodo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea solum, quae vivo se acciderunt, futura praedixit, sed etiam, quae nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates.

XVII. De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? cum hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audierim in funere matris suae, quam extulit annorum xc, annis vii et lx se numquam cum matre in gratiam redisse, numquam cum sorore fuisse in
2 simultate, quam prope aequalem habebat. Quod est signum aut nullam umquam inter eos querimoniam intercessisse aut hunc ea fuisse in suos indulgentia, ut, quos amare deberet,
3 irasci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit natura solum, quamquam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam doctrina. Nam principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta, ut his ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem uteretur.

XVIII. Moris etiam maiorum summus imitator fuit antiquitatisque amator; quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus
2 ordinavit. Nulla enim lex neque pax neque bellum neque res illustris est populi Romani, quae non in eo suo tempore sit notata, et, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus
3 cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Iuniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeraverit, notans, qui a quoque ortus quos honores
4 quibusque temporibus cepisset; pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum, Scipionis Cornelii et Fabii Maximi Fabiorum et Aemiliorum. Quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiae clarorum virorum.
5 Attigit quoque poëticen, credimus, ne eius experts esset

suavitatis. Namque versibus, qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros Romani populi praestiterunt, exposuit ita, ut sub singulorum imaginibus facta magistratusque eorum non amplius quaternis quinisque versibus descripserit: quod vix credendum sit, tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam unus liber Graece confectus, de consulatu Ciceronis.

XIX. Hactenus Attico vivo edita a nobis sunt. Nunc, quoniam fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua persequemur et, quantum potuerimus, rerum exemplis lectores docebimus, sicut supra significavimus, suos cuique mores plerumque conciliare fortunam. Namque hic contentus 2 ordine equestri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit imperatoris, divi filii, cum iam ante familiaritatem eius esset consecutus nulla alia re quam elegantia vitae, qua ceteros ceperat principes civitatis dignitate pari, fortuna humiliores. Tanta enim prosperitas Caesarem est consecuta, ut nihil ei 3 non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam ante detulerit, et conciliarit, quod nemo adhuc civis Romanus quivit consequi. Nata est autem Attico neptis ex Agrippa, cui virginem filiam 4 collocarat. Hanc Caesar vix anniculam Ti. Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo, despondit; quae coniunctio necessitudinem eorum sanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiore.

XX. Quamvis ante haec sponsalia non solum, cum ab urbe abesset, numquam ad suorum quemquam litteras misit, quin Attico mitteret, quid ageret, in primis quid legeret quibusque in locis et quamdiu esset moraturus, sed etiam, cum 2 esset in urbe et propter infinitas suas occupationes minus saepe, quam vellet, Attico frueretur, nullus dies temere intercessit, quo non ad eum scriberet, cum modo aliquid de

antiquitate ab eo requireret, modo aliquam quaestionem poëticam ei proponeret, interdum iocans eius verbosiores
3 eliceret epistulas. Ex quo accidit, cum aedis Iovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficien-
4 dam curaret. Neque vero a M. Antonio minus absens litteris colebatur, adeo ut accurate ille ex ultimis terris, quid
5 ageret, curae sibi haberet certiore facere Atticum. Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui iudicare poterit, quantae sit sapientiae eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum aemulatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantam fuit incidere necesse inter Caesarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romae, sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.

XXI. Tali modo cum VII et LXX annos complisset atque ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate quam gratia fortunaque crevisset (multas enim hereditates nulla alia re quam bonitate consecutus est) tantaque prosperitate usus esset valetudinis, ut annis xxx medicina non indiguisset,
2 nactus est morbum, quem initio et ipse et medici contempserunt. Nam putarunt esse tenesmon, cui remedia celeria
3 faciliaque proponebantur. In hoc cum tres menses sine ullis doloribus, praeterquam quos ex curatione capiebat, consump-
4 sisset, subito tanta vis morbi in unum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore per lumbos fistulae puris eruperint. Atque hoc priusquam ei accideret, postquam in dies dolores accrescere febresque accessisse sensit, Agrippam generum ad se accersi iussit et cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum Sextumque
5 Peducaeam. Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum innixus ‘Quantam,’ inquit, ‘curam diligentiamque in valetudine mea tuenda hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos testes habeam, nihil necesse est pluribus verbis commemorare. Quibus quoniam,

ut spero, satisfeci, me nihil reliqui fecisse, quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est, ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui. Nam mihi stat alere morbum desinere. Namque his diebus quidquid cibi sumpsi, ita produxi vitam, ut auxerim dolores sine spe salutis. Quare a vobis peto, primum, ut consilium probetis meum, deinde, ne frustra dehortando impedire conemini.'

XXII. Hac oratione habita tanta constantia vocis atque vultus, ut non ex vita, sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare, cum quidem Agrippa eum flens atque osculans 2 oraret atque obsecraret, ne ad id, quod natura cogeret, ipse quoque sibi acceleraret, et quoniam tum quoque posset temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret, preces eius taciturna sua obstinatione depressit. Sic cum biduum cibo 3 se abstinuisset, subito febris decessit leviorque morbus esse coepit. Tamen propositum nihilo setius peregit. Itaque die quinto, postquam id consilium inierat, pridie kalendas Apriles Cn. Domitio C. Sosio consulibus, decessit. Elatus 4 est in lecticula, ut ipse praescripserat, sine ulla pompa funeris, comitantibus omnibus bonis, maxima vulgi frequentia. Sepultus est iuxta viam Appiam ad quintum lapidem in monumento Q. Caecilii, avunculi sui.

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PART II.—NOTES

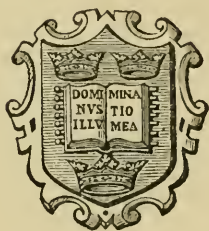
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NOTES.

PRAEFATIO.

§ 1. **Non dubito fore.** This use of 'non dubito' = 'I have no doubt' with acc. and inf. is not found in Cicero, Caesar, or Sallust; but is common in Nepos, and occurs in Livy, e.g. 22. 55 'Non dubitabant, deletis exercitibus, hostem ad oppugnandam Romam venturum.' 'Non dubito facere, dicere,' etc. signifies 'I do not hesitate;' we find, Hannibal 2. 5, 'nemini dubium esse debeat quin,' and 11. 2 'nemo dubitabat quin.'

Plerosque, 'very many,' not 'most.' This meaning is chiefly confined to later prose, e.g. Tacitus, but it occurs several times in Nepos.

Scripturae, 'composition.'

Leve, 'trivial.'

Personis, 'character.' *Persona* = (1) a mask, such as was worn by actors. (2) A character in a play. (3) A man's part or character in life; cf. Cic. Sull. 3. 8 'Personam quam mihi tempus et respublica imposuit,' and so in this place. (4) A person acting in character; cf. Pelopidas 4. 3 'Fuit altera persona Thebis.' (5) In legal phrase, 'a person,' as opposed to a house or a slave.

Commode, 'well.'

2. **Expertes,** 'without knowledge of.'

3. **Graiorum** is rare in prose for *Graecorum*.

4. **Sororem germanam,** Elpinice, daughter of the same father. 'Germanus' almost always implies the identity of both parents.

Nefas, 'incest.' Implying an offence against divine law.

Lacedaemoni, locative. The termination in *ē* is more usual. We find, however, 'ruri' and 'Carthagini.'

5. **Tota Graecia.** For the omission of 'in' see note on Iphicrates 2. 3.

Cenam, to amuse the guests. Several editions read 'scenam,' probably from a confusion with 'in scenam prodire' below.

Fuit refers to the time of which the book treats.

Citari, 'to be proclaimed by the herald.'

Infamia, 'infamous.' Saint Augustine says, 'Romani hominibus

scenicis nec plebeiam tribum, quanto magis senatoriam dehonestari sinunt.' As to the disgrace attached at Rome to actors cf. Tac. Ann.

14. 15.

Humilia, 'low,' 'mean.' **Ab honestate remota**, 'disreputable.'

Ponuntur, 'are considered.'

6. **Contra ea**. So **Nepos** generally for 'contra.' Found also in Caesar and Livy.

Pleraque, see above 1.

Primum locum aedium, 'the first room in the house.' The atrium, which came immediately after the vestibule. *Κάλλιον γυναῖκας μένειν ἔνδον ἢ θυραυλεῖν* Xen. Oec. 7. 30.

Materfamilias. 'Familias' is an old form of the genitive. 'Cuius' depends on 'materfamilias,' which has become one word, like the German *Hausfrau*.

In celebritate versatur, 'goes into society.' Cf. 'Odi enim celebritatem: homines fugio' Cic. Att. 3. 7. 1.

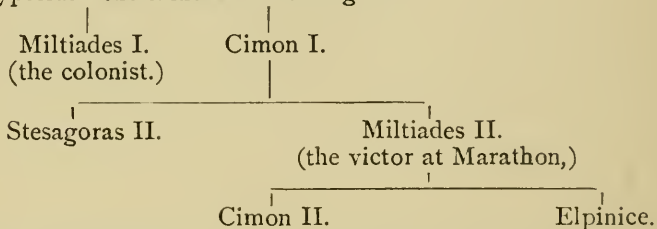
7. **Gynaecoonitis**, *γυναικωνίτις*, 'women's apartments,' opposed to *ἀνδρανίτις*.

I. MILTIADES.

Chap. 1.

§ 1. **Miltiades**. **Nepos** has confounded the uncle and the nephew. The genealogy of Miltiades was as follows:—

Cypselus = the same wife = Stesagoras I.



Antiquitate generis. The family sprang from Aegina, and traced their descent from Acacus.

Modestia, 'sobriety of conduct,' *σωφροσύνη*. Cic. Tusc. 3. 8.

Unus omnium expresses the exclusive superlative. Madvig 310. Obs. 2.

Accidit. The Athenians sent the colony at the request of the Dolonci, who inhabited the Chersonesus.

Chersonesum—i. e. Thracian, to be distinguished from the Chersonesus Taurica, or Crimea. The preposition 'in' is omitted, as often in Greek names of lands, etc. in *-us*; e. g. Aegyptum, Hellespontum, Cyprum.

2. **Cuius generis** = 'colonorum.'

Ex his delecti. The story told by Hdt. (6. 36, 37) is that the Dolonci chose Miltiades by the advice of the oracle 'because he was the first man who offered them hospitality,' and that having received their offer he went himself to Delphi to ask whether he should go or not.

Deliberatum, 'to consult the oracle.' The sense is only found here and in Themistocles 2. 6.

Thraeces, the Absinthii, with whom the Dolonci were at war.

Cum quibus is found in Cicero, but 'quibuscum' is more usual.

4. **Hoc responso,** 'in consequence of.' Ablative of cause.

Facerent. The 'ut' may be omitted with words such as advise, beg, or persuade. Madv. 372. Obs. 4.

5. **Aquilone.** Lemnos was one day's sail southwards from Elacus, at the extremity of the Chersonesus.

6. **Adversum tenet,** 'blows against.' Lit. holds the opposite to. But the construction is unusual; Lambinus reads 'adversatur.'

Non habens. Cicero would have written 'Cum non haberet.' See note on Themistocles 7. 1.

§ 1. **Castellis** belongs probably to 'idonea,' and if so is dative.

Chap. 2.

3. **Dignitate,** 'position.'

Quamvis carebat. 'Quamvis' is very rarely found with the indicative except in poetry. Livy has one instance, Cicero apparently none.

Imperio, 'military rank.'

A quibus implies 'by whom he had been sent.'

Officia prestabat, 'did his duty by.'

5. **Cares.** The inhabitants of Lemnos were at this time Pelasgi, who, having been expelled from Attica, had themselves expelled the Minyae from Lemnos. Inscriptions have recently been found in Lemnos in a language which is not Greek. The home of the Carians was in Asia Minor, between Phrygia and Pisidia. Though probably akin to the Greeks by blood, they seem to have early come under the influence of the Phoenicians, and to have been regarded by the Greeks as semi-barbarians.

Dicto, 'by their promise.' **Capti,** 'caught,' 'entrapped.'

Cyclades. There is no authority for this, but it is probable that Imbros fell with Lemnos.

§ 1. **Eisdem temporibus.** Grote places the Scythian expedition in 515 B. C., and supposes the conquest of Lemnos to have taken place during the Ionian revolt, 502-494 B. C.

Chap. 3.

In Histro flumine, 'over the Danube.' 'In' is regularly used in this phrase.

Qua, adverb.

Singulis ipsorum. The reading is uncertain, but the sense is clear, 'of their respective cities.'

2. **Cui . . . crederetur**—an analogous construction to 'sunt qui

putent.' *Madv.* 365. Note that the antecedent of 'cui' is 'numero,' not 'Miltiades.' The clause may, however, be spurious.

3. *Hic* is here used of time rather than of place, 'now,' 'on this occasion.' Cf. *Eumenes* 10. 1.

4. *Transportarat* is in the indicative because it is not part of the speech of Miltiades, but an addition of Nepos.

Dominacione, 'tyranny.' '*Persarum*' belongs only to 'dominatione,' not to 'periculo.'

5. *Obstitit*, 'prevented.'

Summas imperii, 'the supreme power.'

Quo, *Dario*.

6. *Non dubitans*: see above, Preface 1.

Tam multis consociis, ablative absolute.

Chersonesum reliquit. Herodotus attributes the departure of Miltiades from the Chersonesus to an invasion of Scythians, but Grote (4. 370 n.) thinks that the fear of the Persians was the true reason. Between the Scythian expedition of Darius and the Ionian revolt, the Chersonesus would be part of the European satrapy, and Miltiades must have been in Thrace, or somewhere beyond the reach of Darius.

Ratio, 'plan.'

Non valuit, 'was not accepted.'

Chap. 4. § 1. *Quingentarum*. Herodotus gives the number as 600 without transports.

Interserens, 'alleging.' The usual word is 'interponens.'

Sardis. Aristagoras, who had been refused help from Sparta, obtained the assistance of twenty Athenian and five Eretrian ships.

2. *Gentis*, 'community.' '*Gens*,' like *πόλις*, signifies a political community. It is used by Cicero, Caesar, and Livy, of the inhabitants of a town.

Oppido. '*Oppidum*' is not used of the capital so often as '*urbs*,' but is applied to Rome by Livy 42. 20. 36, and is used by Nepos for Sparta, Syracuse, and Thebes.

3. *Tumultu*, 'sudden invasion.' The meaning of the word is fully described in *Cic. Phil.* 8. 1, 2 foll.

Hemerodromoe, i.e. *ἡμεροδρόμοι*, 'runners all day.' Cf. Livy 31. 24. 4 '*nisi speculator (hemerodromos vocant Graeci ingens die uno emetientes spatium.)*' This courier (who is generally called '*Phidippides*') performed the 150 miles in forty-eight hours.

4. *Praetores*; i.e. *στρατηγούς*, a regular office. The word '*praetor*' (= '*prae-itor*') was originally a military title at Rome. At Athens ten *στρατηγοί* were elected every year.

Praeessent is in the past tense because '*creant*' is the historical present. It might however have been the present subjunctive. *Madv.* 382. Obs. 3.

Contentio. Nepos is probably right in making this discussion take place before they left the city, and not, as Herodotus, on the field of Marathon.

Moenibus, abl. of instrument.

5. **Primo quoque tempore**, 'as soon as possible.' The phrase occurs in Cicero.

Eorum, as the principal subject of the sentence is Miltiades: 'sua' would be more regular.

Auderi... dimicari are both impersonal. Nepos is rather fond of this construction. Cf. 'reditum est' Epaminondas 8. 1; 'cenatum est' Atticus 14. 1; 'posset perveniri' Eumenes 8. 4.

§ 1. **Plataeenses**. The Plataeans sent the whole force of their state without being invited. They joined on the field of battle, *πανδημεί*. Chap. 5.

Mille with the genitive is rare, and only so used in the nominative and accusative. Horace has 'mille ovium insanus morti dedit' Sat. 2. 3. 197.

2. **Auctoritate**, 'influence.'

3. **Sub radicibus**, 'at the foot.' Gr. *ὑπὸ ρεῖα*.

Regione non apertissima, 'in very broken ground.' An instance of the figure called *meiosis*.

Namque refers to 'regione non apertissima.'

Arborum tractu, 'the line of trees.'

4. **Lacedaemonii**. Leaving Sparta immediately after the full moon, they arrived at Athens on the third day, just after the battle was over.

5. **Ut... profligarint**. The perf. subj. in consecutive sentences is used to express an event as an *independent fact*, while the imperfect subj. expresses an event as *the result* of the action of the main verb. In Greek *ὥστε* with the indic. corresponds to the perf. subj., and *ὥστε* with the infin. to the imperfect. Nepos is extremely fond of this use of the perf. subj. and uses it more frequently than any other writer.

§ 1. **Victoriae**, genitive after 'praemium.'

Civitatum seems to mean 'popular governments,' in which sense it would exactly correspond to the technical use of *πολιτεία* for Republic. Chap. 6.

2. **Rari et tenues**, 'seldom conferred,' 'of slight value.'

Nunc. Supply 'sunt' from 'fuerunt.'

Effusi atque obsoleti, 'lavish and worthless.'

3. **Talis honos**. The order of the words is unusual. Construe—'Talis honos tributus est ut, cum in porticu quae Poecile vocatur pugna Marathonica depingeretur, in decem,' etc.

Poecile, i. e. *ποικίλη Στοά*, the 'painted Stoa' of Milton. From it the Stoics derived their name. It was painted by Polygnotus and Micon at the order of Cimon about 462 B. C. 'Braccatis illita Medis Porticus' Persius 3. 53.

Prima poneretur, 'occupied the chief place.'

Committeret, 'gave the signal for engaging.'

4. **Largitione**. It is not certain to what *Nepos* refers, perhaps to the misapplication of the *Theoric* fund in the time of *Demosthenes*.

Demetrius. He governed the city for ten years (317-307 B. C.) under *Cassander*; he was an accomplished man and a good ruler. The statues (really 360) erected to him were thrown down on the arrival of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*.

Chap. 7. § 1. **Ut insulas**. *Herodotus* says that *Miltiades* obtained seventy ships from the Athenians without saying where he was going, and that the object of his expedition was simply money.

Plerasque. Cf. *Praef.* 1 note. There is no trace of his attacking or intending to attack any but *Paros*.

2. **Oratione**, 'by argument.'

Vineis. These and the 'testudines' were both sheds for covering the besiegers and the battering-rams; but the 'vineae' were smaller and more portable; 'testudo' is also applied to the method of interlocking shields so as to form a continuous cover during assault.

Muros is governed by 'propius.' *Madv.* 172. *Obs.* 4.

3. **In eo esset ut**, 'he was on the point of.'

Continenti, 'mainland,' which could scarcely have been visible from *Paros*. *Ephorus* says that the burning took place in *Myconus*, but *Grote* rejects his story.

In opinionem, 'each party believed.'

Regis, 'the king of Persia,' called in Greek βασιλεύς.

Datum: sc. 'esse.'

4. **Adventaret**, 'was on the point of coming.'

Operibus, 'siege works,' including the 'vineae,' etc.

Atque erat profectus, 'as he had started with.'

Magna cum offensione, 'to the great vexation.'

5. **Proditionis**, 'treachery.' *Herodotus* says, τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀπατῆς εἵνεκεν.

Corruptus. *Herodotus*' account differs entirely from this. He says that *Miltiades* failed to take the town after a siege of twenty-six days.

Infectis rebus, 'without effecting his purpose,' ἀπρακτος.

Vulneribus. *Herodotus* says that he had received a wound in his thigh while leaping over the fence of the temple of *Demeter*.

Posset. 'Quoniam' takes indic. when it states an independent fact, but subj. when it states a reason. *Stesagoras* had been dead thirty years. See list of dates before the text. *Herodotus* says that 'his friends' spoke for *Miltiades*.

6. **Causa cognita**, 'on the trial he was acquitted on the capital charge, but was fined a sum of money, which was fixed at fifty talents (each £243 15s.), the sum which the fleet had cost.' It was the

II. THEMISTOCLES.

custom at Athens, in those trials where the penalty was not fixed by law, for the accuser to name one penalty, which was often death, and the defendant to assign another. The judges were obliged to choose one or the other: hence it was the defendant's interest not to propose a small fine, or the judges would be obliged to vote for death, as in the case of Socrates. Grote supposes this to have been done in this case.

Quantus = 'nam tantus.'

In praesentia, 'at once.'

In vincla. Herodotus does not mention his imprisonment, and Grote does not believe it.

§ 1. **Etsi crimine**, 'although the affairs of Paros formed the ground of his accusation.' Chap. 8.

Alia causa. There is no authority for this statement.

Paucis annis. Pisistratus died in 527 B. C., and Hippias his son was expelled in 510 B. C. The death of Miltiades was about 488 B. C.

2. **Multum in imperiis**, 'having been employed in several commands of importance.'

3. **Perpetuam**, 'absolute,' opposed to authority delegated for a time only.

Bonitate, 'by his natural goodness of character.' The two classes of 'tyranni,' according to Aristotle, are those who reign by means of terror, and those who do so by conciliation. The former are generally expelled, the latter's kingdom becomes either a constitutional monarchy, or a republic.

4. **Cum summa**, 'not only the greatest courtesy, but also remarkable affability.' This meaning of 'communitas' is not found elsewhere: but 'communis' = 'affable' is found in Cicero. Cf. Atticus 3. 1.

II. THEMISTOCLES.

§ 1. **Neocli**: this form of the genitive is common in the earlier writers. Hor. Od. 3. 16. 41 'regnum Alyattei.' Nepos also has Pericli, Procli, Themistocli, Datami, etc. Madv. 42. 2.

Atheniensis. Nepos often begins in this way with a title; so Suetonius, de Rhet. 2.

Huius is governed by 'adulescentiae,' 'the excesses of his early youth.'

2. **Ordiendus**: sc. 'ille,' i. e. 'his life.'

Generosus, 'of noble birth;' but Plutarch says he was not, but a countryman from Phrearrhi.

Halicarnassiam. Halicarnassus was a town in Caria, famous as the birthplace of Herodotus. The Greek adj. is 'Ἀλικαρνασσεύς,' cf. Cic. Div. 2. 42 'Scylax Halicarnasseus,' *Halicarnassius* being the subst. as in Lysander 3. 5. But Nepos has many instances of substantival forms

used adjectivally or in apposition in proper names, e. g. Miltiades 4. 2 'campus Marathon,' Pausanias 3. 3 'ager Troas,' Alcibiades 4. 5 'Eumolpidae sacerdotēs,' Eumenes 10. 2 'Macedones veterani,' Themistocles 8. 2 'Rex Perses,' and 8. 3 'Molossum regem.' Another reading is 'Acharnanā,' i. e. 'of the deme of Acharnae.'

Minus esset probatus, 'he incurred the displeasure of.'

3. Serviens, 'devoting himself.'

Iudiciis privatis, 'private arbitrations.' These arbitrators were called *διαιτηταί*: they were not paid by the state, but by those who chose to apply to them, instead of appealing to the law.

4. Instantibus, 'the present.'

Thucydides 1. 138 τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής.

Illustraretur, 'he became distinguished.'

Chap. 2.

§ 1. Capessendae rei publicae, 'in political activity.'

Bello Corcyraeo: there was no war with Corcyra. The advice of Themistocles to build ships was given in the war with Aegina, which lasted 488-481 B.C.

Praetor. Themistocles was archon Eponymus in 481 B.C.

Ferociorem, 'more warlike.'

2. Metallis, the silver mines of Laurium, on the promontory of Sunium.

Redibat, 'came in.' 'Reddo' is used in a similar way, 'to bring in.'

Largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret. There is no other authority for this statement. Herodotus says, 7. 144, that there was a large sum in hand (according to Grote, arising from the fines paid on letting the mines), and that this was about to be distributed among the citizens, ten drachmae to each man, when Themistocles advised its application to ship-building. See Grote 5. 75.

3. Maritimos praedones, a mistake.

In quo, 'by this means.'

4. Persico, the second Persian war, 480 B.C.

Nam cum, this sentence is broken into by 'huius enim,' and is not completed. 'DCC peditum.' Herodotus gives the number as 1,700,000. As Nepos follows the number of triremes given by Herodotus, it may be possible that MDCC ought to be read here, especially as the number of cavalry (400,000) is far too great for 700,000 infantry.

Et mari et terra. The preposition is regularly omitted in this phrase.

6. Marathoniam: see Miltiades 4. 5.

Deliberantibus: see on Miltiades 1. 2. The first answer of the

Priestess gave them no hope—on approaching a second time they were told :—

τείχος Τριτογενεῖ ξύλινον διδοῖ εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς
μοῦνον ἀπόρθητον τελέθειν, τὸ σὲ τέκνα τ' ὀνήσει.

7. Quo valeret, 'what was the meaning.' There is a similar use in 4. 4.

8. Tali, nearly = 'hoc.' So Dion 8. 3, Datames 6. 8.

Deportant. This removal did not take place till after the battle of Thermopylae.

Arcem, the Acropolis.

Sacra procuranda, 'the care of performing the religious services.'

§ 1. Non paterentur, 'should prevent.' So οὐκ ἔαν in Greek. Chap. 3.

2. Trecentarum. The real number was 271, of which 100 were Athenian, manned partly by Plataeans, 40 Corinthian, 20 Megarian, 20 lent by Athens to Chalcis, and 18 Aeginetan.

3. Pari praelio, 'a drawn battle,' in which neither side is victorious.

Superasset, 'had sailed round.' 200 Persian ships had been despatched to sail round Euboea, but were wrecked in the passage. The real reason of their retreat was the doubtful issue of the *second* battle of Artemisium, and the news of the disaster of Thermopylae. Grote 5. 139.

4. Exadversum, an archaic form, common in Comedy, once in Cicero. Nepos has 'exadversus' in Thrasybulus 2. 7.

§ 1. Astu, 'the city' Athens. 'Astu' means that part of Athens not comprised in the Acropolis (πόλις) or the harbour. Chap. 4.

Accedo with the accusative is not found in the best prose writers.

Nullis: this is not generally used as a substantive except in ablative and genitive singular, where 'nullo' and 'nullius' regularly take the place of 'nemine' and 'nemini.'

2. Flamma: rather by the *news* of the destruction of the Acropolis. See Herodotus 8. 56.

Discederent: their intention was to retreat to the Isthmus of Corinth.

Regi, rather, admiral.

3. De servis suis quem = 'servorum suorum eum quem.' 'The most trusty slave he had.' His name was Sicinnus.

Regem, of the Persians. See Miltiades 7. 3.

Suis verbis, 'in the name of Themistocles.'

4. Hoc eo valebat, 'the intention of this was.' See note on 2. 7.

5. Potuerit, see on Miltiades 5. 5.

Consilio, 'cleverness;' but this 'consilium' of Themistocles was a double-edged one; for his message to the king no doubt was intended to secure his own safety in the probable event of a Persian victory.

§ 1. *Male rem gesserat*, 'had been unsuccessful.'

Ab eodem, by Themistocles.

Gradu depulsus est, 'he was disconcerted.'

Chap. 5. *Id agi*, 'that there was an intention'—namely, on the part of the Grecian fleet. It is doubtful whether this intention was serious.

Reditu in Asiam. Substantives in *-tus*, *-sus*, formed from intransitive verbs, generally take the same construction as the verb (e.g. *usus* takes the ablative). But other substantives rarely have a preposition depending on them in this way.

2. *Sex mensibus*, the real time occupied was four months. *Nepos*, in *Agesilaus*, makes it a year. The time of retreat was forty-six days. The contrast between the king's advance and retreat is treated by *Juvenal Sat.* 10. 173, etc.

Minus. The omission of 'quam' after comparatives when numbers are given is very frequent, and in expressions of *age* and *measurement* seems to be universal. See *Roby* § 1273.

Reversus est, 'revertit' is more usual, and is the only form used by *Cicero*, *Caesar*, and *Livy*.

3. *Victoria*, 'est' is omitted to give liveliness to the narrative. See *Madv.* 479. a.

Tropaeo, 'victory.' Cf. ἄξια πράττεις τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τροπαίου *Aristoph. Eq.* 1334.

Chap. 6. § 1. *Triplex*, namely the three harbours of *Munychia*, *Zea*, and *Piraeus*. The work was begun in 480 B. C., when *Themistocles* was στρατηγός.

Iisque. The MSS. have 'isque,' which is superfluous after 'portus.' Reading 'iisque,' the sense is 'with such walls that,' etc., which is what is required.

Dignitate, 'beauty.'

2. *Qua negarent*, 'for denying.'

3. *Longe alio spectabat atque*, 'had a very different object from.'

Principatu, the ἡγεμονία or headship of the Greek confederation. The Spartans had up to this time been the acknowledged holders of this position; cf. *Aristides* 2. 2 'Namque ante id tempus et mari et terra duces erant Lacedaemonii.'

4. *Instrui*, 'were being marked out.'

5. *Altitudo*. The proposed emendation 'satis alti tuendo muri videbantur' seems needless.

Ex sacellis constarent: this is an exaggeration. *Nepos* follows here the authority of *Thucydides*, but loosely and inaccurately. *Thuc.* 1. 93 πολλὰι στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων.

Chap. 7. § 1. *Longissime* and 'longius' of time are classical; but 'longe' must not be used for 'diu.'

Causam interponens. *Nepos* is fond of these pres. participles, which are generally avoided by *Cicero*, *eum* with subj., or some other peri-

phrasis, being used instead. Cf. 'simulans' Pausanias 2. 2, Conon 5. 3, 'existimans' Lysander 3. 2, 'credens' Eumenes 7. 2, 'celans' Datames 5. 6, and many other places.

2. *Reliqui legati*; these were Aristides and Habronichus, Thuc. 1. 91. *Munitionis*, 'the labour of fortification.'

Imperium. This would more properly be 'potestas,' because the kings had the 'imperium' or command in war.

3. *Gestus est ei mos*, 'his proposal was accepted.'

Praedixit = 'praecepit.'

4. *Magistratum senatumque*, the Ephors and the *γερουσία*—Thuc. 1. 91 *ἐπελθὼν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις*. The Ephors at Sparta were a Council of Five, annually renewed, who, from being originally a board of magistrates charged with the superintendence of public order, became the virtual rulers of the state, and held even the kings accountable to them (Paus. 3. 3). The Gerusia was a Senate of twenty-eight old men, chosen from the Spartan families. The two kings were members of the Senate *ex officio*, making the number thirty. Its power was not great.

Quod is the relative to the sentence 'deos . . . saepsisse.'

Deos publicos, the national gods of the Hellenes.

Patrios, the gods of Attica—*penates*, the gods of each family.

In eo, 'in so doing.' *Quicquam* is understood before 'quod.'

5. *Oppositum* agrees with 'propugnaculum' by attraction. Adv. 17. Obs. 2.

Bis, at Marathon and Salamis.

6. *Male et iniuste*. Nepos follows Thucydides loosely. Themistocles' argument was, that to ensure equality and freedom among the allies all the cities must be fortified or none. Thucydides, loc. cit.

Essent recepturi. This ought to be 'recepturos esse,' or, 'ab iis receptum iri,' representing 'recipietis' in the oratio recta.

§ 1. *Miltiades*: see Miltiades c. 8.

Chap. 8.

Testularum suffragiis, *δστρακισμῶ*. By a vote of ostracism one of two political rivals was banished from the state (without disgrace or loss of property) for ten years, that his quarrel might not be dangerous to the constitution. 6000 votes were necessary: see Grote 3. 196. Themistocles was exiled in 471 B.C. (Grote 5. 383). He had been *previously* accused of receiving bribes from Persia.

2. *Eius* should be 'suas.'

Lacedaemonii. This was in 466 B.C. The Lacedaemonians wished him to be tried as a Panhellenic criminal before the synod of the allies at Sparta. Grote 5. 381.

Rege Perse, more generally 'rex Persarum;' compare 'regem Molossum' below.

3. *Principes*, 'leading men'—Corcyra was a republic.

Hospitium, 'ties of friendship.' This is not true: Thucydides

(1. 136) represents Admetus as ὄντα οὐ φίλον, because Themistocles had thwarted him in some demand at Athens. Some editors insert 'non' before 'erat,' to bring Nepos into accordance with Thucydides; but it is more likely that Nepos is in error than that the MSS. are wrong.

4. In praesentia, 'at the time:' see Miltiades 7. 6.

Religio here means 'obligation,' the sacred right of a guest and suppliant.

Filiam parvulam. Thucydides says τὸν παῖδα.

Caerimonia, 'veneration.'

5. Propinquo, so near the frontiers of Hellas.

Tuto, adverb; versari, simply 'to live.'

Pydnam. Pydna was a town of Macedonia (now Kitro), near the Thermaic Gulf, celebrated as the scene of the victory of Aemilius Paulus in 168, which decided the fate of the Macedonian monarchy.

Quod satis esset. The subj. expresses faintly a notion of *purpose*. 'He gave him such a guard (as he knew) would be sufficient.' The indic. would state (on the authority of Nepos) that the guard *actually* proved sufficient.

6. Omnibus ignotus nautis is a careless translation of Thucyd. ἀγνώστους τοῖς ἐν τῇ νηί. A passenger by sea is not necessarily a 'nauta.'

Escendit, 'embarked.' This word is used also for disembarking; Livy 29. 11. 'Ascendit' is more used in Nepos, Alcibiades 4. 3, Hannibal 7. 6: 'navem conscendit' in other writers.

Naxum. The island was in revolt against the confederacy of Delos. It was conquered by the Athenians, and reduced to the position of a tributary subject. Grote 5. 406.

Chap. 9. § 1. Plerosque, namely Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus, and Heraclides.

Xerxe. He died in 465 B. C.

Artaxerxes, called Longimanus.

2. Graiorum: see Preface 3.

3. Idem, 'I however.' This use of 'idem' to introduce a *contrast* is not uncommon.

Ipse, understand 'coepi.'

Nam cum . . . liberatus. These words are not in the original letter quoted by Thucydides, c. 137, but are added by him in explanation.

Id agi ut. See ch. 5. 1.

In Hellesponto. See on Miltiades 3. 1.

Circumiretur, that is, Xerxes.

4. Ea refers both to 'annuum . . . des' and 'eoque . . . patiaris.'

Quas colloqui. In the best writers we find only the accusative neuter of a pronoun or a numeral adjective joined to intransitive verbs. Madv. 229.

§ 1. Veniam dedit, 'granted his request.'

Litteris sermonique, 'to the study of the Persian literature and language.'

Commodius, 'better:' so Preface I.

2. Asiam, the Roman province of Asia Minor.

Magnesiae, on the Maeander, not far from the coast of Ionia.

3. His quidem . . . praeberet, 'on these very terms—that it should supply him with bread.' 'Quidem' emphasises the word which it follows.

Quinquaginta talenta: see on Miltiades 7. 6.

Opsonium, 'condiment for his bread,' which was always accounted the main nourishment, especially fish. Other historians say that Percote was given to him for bedding and Palaeskepsis for clothing. Themistocles had probably a right to the regal revenue or tribute in these cities. Grote 5. 300.

Oppidum, Magnesia.

Est sepultus, 'was buried:' his bones were afterwards removed.

4. Multimodis, for 'multis modis,' found in Ennius, Plautus, Terence, and Lucretius.

Eundem may be translated 'as before.'

Neque negat, 'yet admits.' For 'neque' = 'but not' cf. Agesilaus 1. 4 'Is de honore regni cum Agesilao contendit, neque id quod petivit, consecutus est.'

Venenum. He is said to have died through drinking bull's blood, which is however not poisonous. Aristophanes (Eq. 83) alludes to this report:—

βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἶμα ταύρειον πιεῖν
ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἰρετώτερος.

5. Memoriae prodidit. Thucydides (1. 138) mentions it only as a statement of the friends or relatives of Themistocles, and does not vouch for its truth. Grote 5. 391.

III. ARISTIDES.

§ 1. Themistoeli may be either genitive or dative.

Principatu, 'the first position in the state.'

Obtrectarunt inter se, 'they were rivals,' διεπολιτεύσαντο.

2. Eloquentia. There can be no doubt that Themistocles at this crisis gave far better advice to the state than Aristides, however inferior he may have been in moral character to him.

Quanto antestaret. For the imperfect see Madv. 383.

Innocentiae, 'integrity,' used especially of blamelessness in money matters.

Abstinencia, 'disinterestedness.'

Quem quidem, 'at least of those whom we have heard of.' For this construction see *Madv.* 364. *Obs.* 2. The accusative after 'audio' in this sense is rare.

Iustus, ὁ δίκαιος.

Collabefactus. Grote considers the wish of Themistocles to turn Athens from a land into a sea power to have been the cause of their rivalry; 5. 70.

Testula illa, 'by that well-known vote of ostracism:' see Themistocles 8. 1.

3. **Cedens**, 'as he was retiring from the struggle.'

Scribentem, writing the name of Aristides on the voting tablet. No name was officially proposed for ostracism, any one might be selected. Plutarch tells the story that the man could not write, and begged Aristides to inscribe his own name on the tablet; which he did.

4. **Ignorare**, 'did not know' = 'non nosse.'

Praeter ceteros: jealousy of Aristides' reputation had probably much to do with his ostracism.

5. **Quam**, more fully 'postquam.' For this use of 'quam' cf. *Livy* 6. 29 'Die vigesima quam creatus erat, abdicavit se dictatura.' 'Postquam' regularly takes the plup. indic. when a definite length of time is stated (e. g. here, 'sexto anno'); otherwise the perf. indic. is generally used. Aristides was recalled after the battle of Thermopylae, in the third year of his banishment, on the proposal of Themistocles. Grote 5. 151.

Populi scito, i. e. by a decree (ψήφισμα) of the people. The resolutions of the Comitia Tributa at Rome were called 'Plebis scita' ('scitum' from 'scisco').

Chap. 2.

§ 1. **Facta est prius**. He joined the Athenians for the first time the night before the battle. It is not clear whether Herodotus (8. 79) considers him to have been recalled or not. He slaughtered the Persians on the island of Psyttaleia.

Liberaretur. Cicero would have written 'liberatus est,' as there is no idea of purpose implied. Nepos however uses the subjunctive freely in these sentences. Cf. Alcibiades 3. 2, Dion 4. 4, Eumenes 4. 2, Cato 1. 1, Atticus 21. 4. 'Ante quam' is never used by Nepos.

Praetor, στρατηγός: see Miltiades 4. 4.

Fusus and **interfectus** might seem to have changed positions. The latter would more naturally refer to Mardonius, the former to the army. The massacre after the battle of Plataea seems, however, to have been so complete as to justify Nepos' expression, and the use of 'interficere' of a massacre may be paralleled from Iphicrates 2. 3.

2. **Summa imperii maritimi**. The ἡγεμονία of the Grecian confederation. This transfer took place at Byzantium in the year 447 B. C.

3. *Intemperantia*, 'arrogance.'

§ 1. *Sunt collata*, 'were paid in.' We do not know the details of Chap. 3. the assessment—460 talents would be £112,120.

Id agrees with '*aerarium*' the predicate, according to the usual rule in Latin.

Postero tempore, before 449 B.C. The precise date is not known. Grote 5. 464.

2. *Qui*, an old form of the ablative, used most commonly in the word '*quicum*' = '*quocum*,' also common in Plautus. Cf. '*qui fit*, *Maecenas*' Hor. Sat. 1. 1. For '*qui efferretur*' comp. Cimon 4. 3 '*unde efferrentur non reliquissent*.'

3. *Collocarentur*, 'were given in marriage.' τὰς θυγατέρας ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος Aeschines cont. Ctesiphontem.

Decessit: in the year 468 B.C.

Post annum quartum quam = '*quarto anno postquam*.' For the tense see on ch. 1. 5.

IV. PAUSANIAS.

§ 1. *Varius*, 'inconsistent;' some edd. read '*vanus*.'

Chap. 1.

Ut . . . sic here, as often, expresses a contrast. '*Ut* . . . *ita*' is more common in other writers.

Obrutus, 'obscured.' '*Quantum virides Venus addita Nymphas | obruit*' Stat. Achill. 1. 293.

2. *Huius illustrissimum*, 'his most illustrious action.'

Mardonius: he was a Persian (which '*Medus*' may signify), and had married the daughter of Darius, Artazostre.

Manu, 'in action.'

cc milibus. Herodotus says 300,000 without the Grecian auxiliaries, which were 50,000.

Haud ita magna. The number of the Greeks at Plataea was 110,000. Hdt. 9. 30.

3. *Plurima miscere*, 'to cause great confusion,' συγκεκᾶν.

Epigrammate. The inscription, as given by Thucydides 1. 132, runs:—

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μῆδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνημ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Sententia, 'purport.'

Ergo, 'on account of,' used only in antiquated style, and put after its case. Madv. 173. Obs. 5.

Dedissee, that is, 'se.' These changes of subject are contrary to good usage, but not uncommon in Nepos.

4. *Exsculpserunt*, 'erased,' ἐξεκόλασαν.

§ 1. *Cyprum atque Hellespontum*. Cf. Miltiades 1. 1.

Chap. 2.

2. *Maiores res*, 'a higher position.'

Gongylum, governed by 'misit,' understood from 'remisit.' *Gongylus*, an Eretrian exile, was now a subject of Persia, and was governor of a district in Mysia.

Thucydides, 1. 128, gives this letter verbatim, as well as *Xerxes'* reply. They begin in the third person and end in the first.

4. *Geri*, 'to be done,' *εἰ οὖν τι τούτων ἀρέσκει*.

Certum hominem, 'some one who can be depended upon,' *ἄνδρα πιστόν* *Thuc.* 1. 128. *Thucydides* continues *ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, δι' οὗ τὸ λοιπὸν τοὺς λόγους ποιησόμεθα*. This *Nepos* alters.

Volueris. See note on *Pelopidas* 1. 1.

Face, for 'fac,' common in *Plautus* and *Terence*, also in *Catullus*.

5. *Tam necessariorum*, 'so closely connected with him.'

Artabazus. He had been second in command in *Bocotia*, and is now sent to supersede *Megabates* in the satrapy of *Dascyleum*.

Ne cui rei parcat, 'to spare no efforts.'

Pollicetur is put in the indicative to add liveliness to the narration.

6. *Quo facto*, 'in consequence of which.'

Remissus non est. *Dorcis* was sent in his place, but on his arrival found the hegemony, or leadership, transferred to the Athenians.

Chap. 3.

§ 1. *Post non multo*, more usually 'non multo post.'

Sua sponte: he came out as a volunteer in a trireme belonging to *Hermione*.

Non callida sed dementi. *Fleckeisen* reads 'stolida,' to make the antithesis less insipid.

Cogitata, 'his designs.'

2. *Apparatu regio*, 'the state of a Persian king.' Cf. '*Persicos odi, puer, apparatus*' *Hor. Od.* 1. 38.

Satellites, δορυφόροι. *Thucydides*, from whom these statements are taken, refers them (1. 130) to the time before *Pausanias'* first recall.

3. *Aditum conveniundi*, 'audience,' *δυσπρόσοδον αὐτὸν παρέιχε*. '*Conveniundi*' is an archaic form (for '*conveniendi*'), which occurs several times in *Nepos*, e.g. '*conveniundi*' again *Alcibiades* 9. 5, '*potiundi*' *Agesilaus* 4. 2, '*serviundum*' *Hamilcar* 1. 3, '*interficiundus*' *Alcibiades* 5. 1, and in four other places.

4. *Clava*, 'staff,' *σκυτάλη*. The Ephors in Sparta kept a cylindrically shaped piece of wood, of which a counterpart was given to the commander in the field. If an order was to be sent, it was written on writing material rolled slantwise round the stick, along the whole length of the stick. When unrolled the writing was illegible, when rolled round a stick of the same size it could easily be read again. The wood and the despatch were both called *σκυτάλη*.

5. *In vincla publica*, *ἐς τὴν εἰρκτήν*.

Licet: we should expect 'licebat,' but Nepos has copied servilely the very words of Thucydides.

Regi. Pausanias was not king, but regent (*ἐπίτροπος*) for the young king Pleistarchus.

Quod: we should expect 'qui vocantur.'

Hilotæ, εἰλωται. The Helots were serfs, 'adscripti glebæ,' and could not be sold like slaves. The name is probably derived not from Helos, a town in Laconia, but from αἰρέω. See Grote 2. 503 foll. The Helots did revolt in the year 464 B.C. Grote 5. 428.

§ 1. **Argilius** from Argilus in Thrace. 'An Argilian slave.'

Chap. 4.

Eique in suspicionem venisset, 'and he suspected.' See Miltiades

7. 3.

Vincla, the string tied round the letter, and fastened by a seal.

2. **Convenerant,** 'had been agreed upon.'

3. **Gravitas . . . hoc loco,** 'the deliberate conduct of the Lacedæmonians in these circumstances.'

Se ipse indicasset, 'he had borne witness against himself.'

4. **Hanc iuxta.** It is rare to find this preposition after its case. Madv. 469. Obs. 1.

Iocum . . . sub terra. Nepos has probably misunderstood Thucydides, who says that the Argilian made a kind of double hut in which he hid the Ephors: σκηνησαμένου διπλὴν διαφράγματι καλύβην εἰς ἣν τῶν ἐφόρων ἐντός τινος ἔκρυψε (1. 133). Diodorus gives the same account.

5. **Quem cum videret . . . quaerit.** In subordinate clauses after the historic present, historic tenses are often used.

Causæ quid sit, 'what was the reason.' The partitive genitive is common after pronouns and neuter adjectives; cf. the phrases 'id ætatis,' 'nihil reliqui,' and Ter. Hec. 4. 4. 21 'quid mulieris uxorem habes?'

6. **Tantīs rebus,** 'in such difficulties,' or, 'in such important intrigues.'

§ 1. **In eo esset,** 'was on the point of:' see Miltiades 7. 3.

Chap. 5.

Admoneri, 'that he should receive a warning.'

2. **Chalcioicos,** 'of the brazen house,' χαλκίοικος.

Valvas eius aedis. He did not take refuge in the temple itself, but in a small building which formed part of it. He was safe as soon as he was inside the *τέμενος*. Thuc. 1. 134.

3. **Dicitur,** with the accusative and infinitive, should not be imitated. Nepos follows the Greek servilely.

Magno natu is unusual, but is found in Livy.

Comperit is as it were taken out of the obliqua oratio and put back to the recta: so Miltiades 3. 4 'transportarat,' and Pausanias 2. 5 'pollicetur.'

In primis. This story is told by Diodorus and Polyænus, but not by Thucydides. It is believed by Grote, 5. 369.

Sic Pausanias. This and the following sentence seem to have been transposed, as the summary 'sic . . . maculavit' would naturally be reserved till *after* the account of his death, which is given in the next sentence.

5. **Eodem.** Thuc. 1. 134 ἐμέλλησαν ἐς τὸν Κατιάδαν, οὐπερ τοὺς κακούργους εἰώθεσαν, ἐμβάλλειν.

It should be 'eos.' It is attracted by 'qui.'

Ad supplicium dati is an older form of expression for 'supplicio affecti.' So in Plautus 'ad mortem dare.'

Procul, 'at a little distance,' πλησίον.

Dei Delphici, Apollo. Thucydides ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

V. CIMON.

Chap. 1. § 1. **Usus est,** 'experienced.'

Cum pater eius : see on Miltiades 7. 6.

Litem aestimatam, 'the fine determined by the law courts.' The sum was fixed at fifty talents.

Eadem custodia tenebatur. On this subject see Grote 4. 469, note. It is doubtful if Miltiades was imprisoned at all. Cimon neither was nor could be in prison by the Attic law for an unpaid fine of his father; but after his father's death he became liable for the fine, in this sense, that he remained disfranchised (*ἄτιμος*) and excluded from his rights as a citizen until the fine was paid.

2. **Germanam :** see on Preface 4. The story of his marriage with Elpinice is probably untrue. Andocides (de Myst. 4. 33) says that Cimon was banished for this offence against morality; yet Nepos in his preface says that the custom was usual at Athens.

Non magis amore quam more. Nepos indulges in a similar verbal jingle in 'oris atque orationis' Alcibiades 1. 2, 'ornarentur . . . armarentur' Agesilaus 3. 2, 'iumentis iunctis' Timoleon 4. 2, 'actorem auctoremque Atticus 17. 3, 'non solum urbis sed orbis' Atticus 20. 5. Most Roman writers before Cicero (e. g. Plautus, Ennius, Lucretius) are fond of these undisguised and therefore inartistic alliterations. Virgil and Cicero at times use the device with great skill, as also some of our own poets have done, notably Milton and Tennyson.

3. **Callias** was not connected with the great family who assumed alternately the names of Callias and Hipponicus.

Ex metallis, of Laurium in Attica.

Egit, 'treated.'

4. **Condicionem,** 'terms.'

Seque : we must apply 'dixit' from the preceding 'negavit.'

Chap. 2. § 1. **Principatum :** see Aristides 1. 1.

Prudentiam, 'experience.'

Cum . . . tum, 'not only . . . but also.'

2. **Primum** is answered by 'iterum' in the next sentence.

Apud flumen Strymona. Nepos apparently confuses two events. The conquest of Eion on the Strymon and the death of the Persian governor Boges was one of the first acts of the new Hellenic Confederation about 476 B.C. The first attempt to found a city on the Strymon was during the blockade of Thasos by Cimon about 464 B.C. See Thuc. i. 100.

Apud Mycalen. This must refer to the great battle at the river Eurymedon, 465 B.C., which was the final blow to the Persian power in Greece. The battle of Mycale was fought in 479 B.C. Mycale is on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Samos; the Eurymedon is in Pamphylia. Another instance of the carelessness of Nepos.

4. **Nonnullae insulae . . . defecerant**. The first revolt amongst the confederation was that of Naxos in the year 467 B.C. Scyros was certainly taken before 469, probably 470 B.C. Grote 4. 413, note.

Acerbitatem imperii, 'the harshness of the Athenian rule.' Their *ἡγεμονία* was gradually changed into an *ἀρχή*.

5. **Contumacius**, 'with insubordination;' the real reason was that they had been guilty of piracy.

Sessores, 'inhabitants,' 'settlers,' an unusual meaning. 'Possessores' has been conjectured.

Thasios. The revolt of Thasos lasted two years, 464-463 B.C., so that 'suo adventu' is an exaggeration.

Opulentia. Their wealth was derived from the gold mines of Mount Pangaeus in Thrace, which were one cause of their quarrel with Athens.

Manubiis. This word signifies money derived from the sale of booty, as well as the actual booty itself.

Arx . . . est ornata. Plutarch (Cimon 13) says *τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τεῖχος κατεσκεύασε (ὁ δῆμος)*. Cimon, however, built the temple of *Νίκη ἄπτερος* on the Acropolis.

§ 1. **Unus maxime**: see on Miltiades i. i.

Chap. 3.

Quam. If the demonstrative and the relative are governed by the same preposition, and the same verb is understood in the relative sentence which is expressed in the demonstrative, the preposition may be omitted before the relative. Madv. 323. 6. Obs. i.

Principes, 'leading men.'

Quod refers to the idea expressed in the sentence: we should expect 'quem,' agreeing with *ὁ στρακισμὸν*. See on Themistocles 8. i.

Multatus est. Cimon had persuaded the Athenians to send an expedition commanded by himself to help the Spartans against their revolted Helots; but the Spartans in a fit of suspicion sent back the Athenian contingent. This caused Cimon's unpopularity.

2. *Celerius*: this is not exactly true. Cimon asked to be allowed to join his countrymen in the battle of Tanagra, but was refused, 456 B.C.

3. *Post annum quintum*. Nepos' chronology is again at fault. Cimon was recalled between the battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta, on the proposal of Pericles, his successful rival.

Hospitio . . . *utebatur*, 'was connected by ties of hospitality,' *πρόξενος ἦν*. He was expected to help and befriend any Lacedaemonian who came to Athens. The difference between a *πρόξενος* and our 'consul' is that the former was a citizen employed by a foreign government to look after its interests in his own city, whereas the latter belongs to the nation which employs him.

Existimans. Something seems to have dropped out here. Fleckeisen fills the lacuna thus—'existimans Graeciae civitates de controversiis suis inter se iure disceptare quam armis contendere.'

Pacem. The peace was concluded for five years, chiefly through the interest of Cimon, in the year 452 B.C. See Thuc. i. 108 sq.

4. *In oppido Citio*, he died during the siege of Citium.

Chap. 4.

§ 1. *In eis*: we should expect 'in eis posuerit,' or, 'eis imposuerit.'

Fructus, 'produce.'

2. *Offensum fortuito*, 'whom he had met by accident.'

3. *Invocatos*, 'uninvited,' *ἀκλήτους*. This is an exaggeration; he only showed this kindness to people of his own 'deme.'

Quod facere . . . *praetermittebat*. The construction is irregular, as the verb has two objects . . . 'facere,' and 'nullum diem.' We should expect either 'quin faceret,' or 'nullo die.'

Unde efferrentur: compare Aristides 3. 2 'qui efferretur.'

Reliquissent. A good example of the use of the subjunctive to express an *indefinite general statement*. Nepos is not thinking of any *particular cases* relieved by Cimon, but of his general custom. The optative without *ἄν* is similarly used (after historic verbs) in Greek. The construction is a very favourite one of Nepos.

4. *Sic se gerendo*: we should rather expect 'cum se gereret.'

Acerba, 'lamented.' This word with 'mors' generally means 'untimely'—'mors acerba infantum, immatura iuvenum, naturalis senum.'

VI. LYSANDER.

Chap. 1.

§ 1. *Virtute*, 'merit.'

2. *Sexto et vicesimo*. The Peloponnesian War began 431 B.C., and the battle of Aegospotami was fought 405 B.C.

Confecisse (sc. 'eum')—'finally crushed.' 'Conficere' = 'to settle,' 'despatch'—generally of things, but sometimes as we speak of 'despatching' an enemy. In this sense cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9 'Felices! nunc

ego resto: | confice.' Our colloquial expression 'done for' illustrates this use of the word.

Apparet: not 'it appears,' but 'it is certain.' 'Videtur' means 'it appears.'

Sui brings out the contrast with 'adversariorum.' See *Madv.* 490.

Immodestia, 'insubordination,' or 'carelessness.'

Dicto audientes, 'obedient.' 'Audiens' is used as an adjective; 'dicto audire' is never found: 'dicto' is dative after the adjective. The phrase occurs four times in *Nepos*; also in *Cicero*, *Caesar*, *Livy*, etc.

Dispalati is a very unusual word, found also in *Sallust*. For an account of the battle see *Alcibiades* c. 8.

Dediderunt. The final surrender of Athens took place 404 B.C.

3. **Audax**, 'unscrupulous.'

4. **Dictitassent**, 'had always said.'

Impotentem, 'excessive,' = ἀκρατῆ.

Aegos = Αἰγός.

Classis: 'potior' is seldom in prose found with a genitive except in the phrase 'potiri rerum.' *Nepos*, however, uses it seven times with the genitive, and only five times with the ablative.

Cum simularet, 'pretending.' This use of *cum* is more like *Cicero* than *Nepos*, who generally prefers the pres. part.; cf. *Miltiades* 7. 1.

5. **Qui studuissent.** For this subj. see on *Cimon* 4. 3.

Decem. They were called δεκαρχία.

Contineretur is indefinite subj., see above; while **confirmarat** is a definite statement. The distinction is too trivial to be marked in translation.

Illius fore proprium, 'would serve him faithfully'—'be his man,' in old English phrase. 'Proprius' often = 'lasting,' 'permanent:' cf. *Virg. Ecl.* 7. 31 'Si proprium hoc fuerit' = 'if this (prosperity) shall continue.'

Fide here = 'with an oath.'

§ 2. **Pervertere**, 'destroy.'

Chap. 2

3. The end of this chapter is lost. *Polyaenus* (*Strab.* 1. 45. 4) tells us that there was a numerous party devoted to the Athenians, whom *Lysander* caused to be allured out of their place of safety into the temple of *Hercules*, under the false assurance of an amnesty: when assembled under this pledge they were all put to death. *Grote* 8. 353.

§ 1. **Hi**: the *Lacedaemonians*.

Chap. 3.

Sustulerunt. The decarchies died out gradually. Some still existed in 395 B.C. See *Xenophon*, *Hellenica* 3. 4. 2.

Quo dolore, 'with indignation at this.'

Iniit consilia = 'constituit,' and so governs the infinitive 'tollere.'

Reges tollere, 'to abolish the (double) monarchy.'

2. *Delphicum*: sc. 'oraculum.'

Potuisset: sc. 'facere.'

Dodonam. Dodona, in Epirus, was the oldest sacred centre of the Greek nation. Its oracle ranked next to that of Delphi in estimation. *Quae solveret*, 'which he must pay.'

Iovi Hammoni. This oracle was situated in an oasis in the Libyan desert. It was visited by Alexander the Great in 328 B.C.

3. *Fefellerunt*, 'disappointed his expectations.'

4. *Accusatus*. Grote thinks it untrue that he was tried and acquitted, 9. 333.

Occisus est: 395 B.C., while besieging Haliartus, a town in Boeotia, which was in alliance with Thebes and Athens.

5. *Quam vere*, 'how false was.' 'Vere' is ironical.

Foret in a better writer would be 'esset.'

Scripta, 'composed in such a way.'

Chap. 4. § 1. *Praefectus*. This was in a second expedition in 403 B.C. See Grote 9. 283.

Perlatum, 'that information had been given.'

Sanctitate, 'conscientiousness,' especially as regards respect for private property, etc. in war.

2. *Liberaliter*, 'readily.'

Legisset. An example of the change of subject without a pronoun to mark it, which is very common in Nepos. It is possible that '*Laco*' may have dropped out before '*legisset*,' but equally awkward constructions occur in Dion 2. 3, Phocion 2. 3, Atticus 8. 4, Pelopidas 4. 3.

Signatum, 'which had been previously sealed.'

Subiecit, 'substituted.'

3. *Maximum magistratum* = 'summum,' = τὰ τέλη, 'the chief magistrates,' i.e. the Ephors.

Cognoscent, 'had read,' ἀνέγνωσαν.

Imprudens, 'unwittingly.'

VII. ALCIBIADES.

Chap. 1. § 1. For the beginning see Themistocles 1. 1.

Natura is the subject to the sentence: we should expect 'posset' instead of 'possit.' Madv. 383.

2. *Amplissima*, 'most eminent.'

Consilii, 'resource.'

Oris atque orationis. For the alliteration see on Cimon 1. 3. 'Os' means voice, manner, and delivery; 'oratio,' the matter of the speech, 'eloquence.'

3. *Patiens*, 'enduring.'

Non minus in vita, 'both in his relations with others and in his own style of living.' 'Victus' refers to his manner of dress, diet, etc., 'vita' to his general conduct in life.

Temporibus, 'adapted himself most skilfully to circumstances.' Plutarch compares him to the chameleon.

§ 1. **Pericli**: compare Themistocles 1. 1.

Chap. 2.

Privignus. Pericles was not his stepfather but his guardian. Cf. λέγεται Ἀλκιβιάδην Περικλεῖ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὄντι αὐτοῦ διαλεχθῆναι Xen. Mem. 1. 2. 'The grandfather of Alcibiades and Pericles' mother were brother and sister.

Ut refers to all the advantages which have been enumerated in this and the preceding chapter.

Fingere vellet, 'had wished to invent.' 'Vellet' and 'posset' should be pluperfect, by ordinary usage. 'Tribueret' is needlessly attracted into the subj. to correspond with the other verbs.

Eminisci, 'imagine.'

§ 1. **Auctoritate**, 'suggestion.'

Chap. 3.

Syracusanis: 415 B. C.

Niciā. This is the ordinary form of the Greek nominative in -as in Nepos. He also has Prusia and Barca.

2. **Id cum**, 'when preparations were being made for this.'

Hermæ. These were rude effigies of Hermes, which stood at street-corners, etc., and were supposed to bring good luck to the city.

Deicerentur. This is not true; they were only mutilated. Grote 7. 228.

Andocidi is the genitive, as **Pericli** above. He was supposed to have been the originator of the outrage, and gave an account of all he knew about it in the oration de Mysteriis in 400 B. C. See Grote 7. 279.

3. **Vis**, 'deeds of violence.'

4. **Devinxerat**, 'had laid under obligation.'

Opera forensi, 'by his assistance given in the law-courts;' a Roman manner of speaking.

6. **Mysteria**: the Eleusinian mysteries.

Pertinere ad, 'to have for its object.'

§ 1. **Hoc crimine**. He was accused in the last ἐκκλησία, held before the setting out of the expedition, by Pythonicus, of having caricatured the Eleusinian mysteries.

Chap. 4.

Compellabatur, 'he was accused.'

Consuetudinem, 'the habitual temper.' Nepos often makes this accusation of ingratitude against the Athenians. Cf. Cimon 3. 1.

Invidiæ crimine, 'an accusation founded upon jealousy,' an extension of the genitive of the possessor.

2. **Itaque** = 'et ita.' Compare Cic. pro Cluentio 19 'Ita constitui fortiter esse agendum, itaque feci.'

3. **Provinciae**, 'the duty with which he was charged.'

The etymology of 'provincia' is doubtful: the word is primarily used of a 'province' of the Roman empire; then, as here, of any sphere of duty or 'province.'

Trierem, the Greek form of 'triremem.' The ship sent out was the Salaminian, one of the two state triremes. Thucydides 6. 53.

Deportandum, 'to fetch him home.'

4. **Erga** in the best writers is only used of friendly feeling.

Elidem. This statement rests only on the authority of Nepos, but is very likely true. See Grote 7. 320.

5. **Bonis publicatis**. The ablative absolute, although with the pf. part. pass., expresses here an action contemporaneous with his condemnation. This use is found chiefly in Livy and later writers. Madv. 431. Obs. 2.

Id quod usu venerat, 'as had actually happened.' Nepos adds this because he has not said anything about the curse before, while he *has* mentioned the trial, from which the sentence might be inferred.

'Usu venire' is a common phrase, used by the best writers. It occurs again c. 6. 3, Hannibal 12. 3. Most grammars regard 'usu' as ablative (of manner); but it is very probably dative of purpose (akin to predicative dative). Sallust, Lucretius, and Plautus have 'usu' for the dative, and 'casu' in c. 6. 4 is dative. So also 'senatu' dative Cato 2. 2 and probably 'genu' Chabrias 1. 2.

Eumolpidae: they were a distinguished priestly family dedicated to the worship of Demeter at Athens and Eleusis. They had judicial power in cases of impiety (*ἀσεβεία*), but could not pronounce a curse unless ordered to do so by the people.

Se: Alcibiades.

Exemplum, 'a copy.'

6. **Inimicos suos . . . hostes civitate**. The distinction between 'inimicus' a private, and 'hostis' a public enemy, is well brought out in this passage.

7. **Perse rege**: see on Themistocles 8. 2. The alliance with Tissaphernes the Persian satrap was made at the advice of Alcibiades in the winter of 412-411 B.C., after the failure of the Sicilian expedition.

Deceleam. Alcibiades advised the fortification of this post in 415, but it was not done till 413 B.C.

Ioniam, the cities subject to Athens on the coast of Asia Minor.

Chap. 5. § 1. **Cum**, 'although.'

Acerrimi, 'most energetic.'

Interficiundi. The Spartans sent a formal command to Astyochus to kill him, who very likely gave him warning of it. Grote 8. 5.

2. **Id celari**. 'Celo' takes two accusatives, of the thing and person, and therefore one of them may be retained in the passive. Transl.

'Alcibiades could not be kept in ignorance of this very long.' Cf. Plaut. Pseud. 1. 5. 76 'Cur haec celata me sunt?'

Praefectum. He was satrap of Lydia and Caria.

Darii. Nothus, he reigned from 424 to 404 B.C.

3. *Senescere*, 'were decaying,' an odd and unusual expression.

Praetore, 'general.'

Erat eodem sensu, 'he held the same views.' Cf. Cic. ad Att. 15. 7 'Valde mihi placebat sensus eius de republica.'

4. *Ab exercitu.* The army at Samos, discontented with the establishment of an oligarchy at Athens, had constituted themselves a *ἑῆμος*, and passed a formal vote to recall Alcibiades. His exile was repealed at Athens on the proposition of Critias, seconded by Theramenes, when the Five Thousand was established in place of the Four Hundred, the 'populi scitum,' mentioned below. Grote 8. 104.

Suffragante, 'with the support of.'

Theramene. He did not arrive at Samos till long afterwards.

Populi scito: see on Aristides 1. 5.

Pari imperio is the ablative.

Praeficitur, 'is made commander.'

Simul, 'jointly with.' 'Simul' is generally only used of time, 'unâ' of other connection.

5. *Pacem peterent.* This was after the battle of Cyzicus in 410 B.C. On this occasion Hippocrates, the secretary to the late admiral Mindarus, sent home the despatch, *Ἐβῆει τὰ καλὰ. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσοῦα· πεινῶντι τῶνδρες ἀπορέομεν τί χρὴ δρᾶν*, 'All honour and advantage is gone from us; Mindarus is slain; the men are starving: we are in straits what to do.' We may read *τὰ κᾶλα* = 'our timbers.'

Victi. Nepos employs a tone of vague exaggeration. The chief battles won were those of Cynossema, Abydos, and Cyzicus—Chalcedon and Byzantium were taken.

6. *Consilio*, 'prudent conduct.'

7. *Praeda onusti*, the contributions from the cities who had previously revolted from Athens.

Venerunt. Alcibiades returned to Athens on the 25th of Thargelion (end of May), 407 B.C.

§ 1. *Exspectatio*, 'impatience.' Nepos' account of Alcibiades' reception is not true. See Grote 8. 197. The enthusiasm for him was not expressed until his arrival at Athens, and his appearance before the *βουλὴ* and *ἐκκλησία*. Chap. 6.

2. *Sic* refers to the next clause—'they were persuaded of this, that,' etc.

Amissum, found in this passage only for 'amissionem.' 'Siciliam amissam' is not improbably the right reading, or 'exercitum in Sicilia amissum.'

3. *Olympiae victoribus*. 'Olympiae' is probably genitive not locative, as we also find 'Olympia (acc. plur.) vincere.' The Greek word is 'Ὀλυμπιονίκης.

Coronis aureis taeniisque. The reading here is uncertain. The old reading was 'aenisque,' which is obviously corrupt. Nipperdey and most recent editors read 'laureis' for 'aureis;' but the Olympian crowns were of olive, not of laurel, and the text does not refer to the victor's wreath given on the spot, but to the crown presented to him when he returned home, which may have been of gold. Thrasybulus was presented by his countrymen with an *olive* crown (Thras. 4. 1). Pelopidas was honoured after his death 'coronis aureis et statuis aëneis' (Pel. 5. 5), a passage which may be thought to support the MS. reading here, with the insertion of 'statuis.'

4. *Astu*: see Themistocles 4. 1.

Casu, dative. See on c. 4. 5.

Sacrilegii, the violation of the mysteries.

5. *Resacrare*, 'to free him from the curse.'

Chap. 7. § 1. *Domi bellique* are both locatives.

Thrasybulus. Xenophon says that Aristocrates and Adimantus were appointed *κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί*.

Apud Cymen. He demanded an unauthorized contribution from the citizens, and upon their refusal attacked the city.

Minus ex sententia, 'not to his satisfaction.'

Recidit. The cause of his being superseded was the defeat of Antiochus his pilot at Notium, his failing to obtain the assistance of the Persians, and conduct at Cyme. On this subject see the remarks of Grote 8. 213.

3. *Magistratum*, 'his command.'

Alium. Ten generals were appointed, of whom Conon was the chief.

4. *Pactyen*, a town of the Thracian Chersonesus, on the coast of the Propontis.

Bisanthe and *Neontichos* (Νέον τεῖχος) were also forts in Thrace.

Primus Graecae civitatis, 'first from any Grecian state:' but see Miltiades 2. 1.

Chap. 8. § 1. *Praetor*. Philocles was *στρατηγός*, Lysander *ναύαρχος*.

Duceret, 'protract.'

Ipsis implies 'him' and 'his.'

Erat super = 'supererat.'

2. *Vulgo* here = 'the common soldiers.'

This offer of Alcibiades does not correspond with the account of Xenophon, and Grote does not think it likely that Alcibiades would have offered to attack with a Thracian force Lysander, who was on the other side of the Hellespont; 8. 296.

Spondet, 'he answers for it.'

3. *Conflicturum* : sc. 'Lysandrum.'

5. *Immodestia*, 'insubordination.' Cf. Lysander 1. 2.

6. *Vulgum* : a rare form of the accus., for 'vulgus,' neut.

Praedatum, etc. Xenophon's account is somewhat different. He says that for several days the Athenians came out to offer battle, which Lysander always refused ; on which the Athenians retired to take their midday meal on shore ; on one of which occasions Lysander attacked.

Rei gerendae, 'for action.'

Delevit, 'made an end of.'

§ 1. *Thraeciam*. Alcibiades went directly to Bithynia.

Chap. 9.

Fortunam = 'pecuniam.'

3. *Tutum* : sc. 'esse.'

Humanitate, 'amiability.'

Grynium is scarcely likely to have been Gryneum in Lydia.

Castrum, 'fort.'

Quinquagena, 'fifty every year.'

5. *Rege* : Artaxerxes Mnemon, who had just succeeded Darius Nothus.

Conveniundi, 'of an interview with him.' For the form see on Pausanias 3. 3.

Cyrum. He was at this time satrap of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and commander of the troops which mustered in the plain of the Castolus.

Bellum parare : this was the expedition of the ten thousand Greeks, the famous *ἀνάβασις*.

§ 1. *Tyranni*. These 'thirty tyrants' formed the oligarchical government established by Lysander at Athens, corresponding to the decarchies in the other cities. Grote thinks that Alcibiades' death was not due to them, but to the combined influence of Agis, king of Sparta, and Cyrus.

Chap. 10.

Certos, 'trustworthy.' Cf. Pausanias 2. 4.

2. *Laco*, i. e. Lysander.

Accuratius, 'most decidedly.'

Renuntiat quae . . . *essent*, 'threatens to break off the alliance between the king and the Lacedaemonians.'

The alliance is mentioned 4. 7.

3. *Non tulit*, 'would not allow.'

4. *Vicinitati*, the neighbourhood, i. e. the inhabitants of the neighbourhood ; a rather bold use of an abstract subst. in a collective sense. Cf. Atticus 8. 4 'globus consensionis.'

Quiescebat, 'was sleeping.'

5. *Subalare telum* = *ἐγχειρίδιον*, a small dagger. Cf. Thucyd. 6. 57. 'Subalare,' lit. = 'under the arm-pit,' = Gr. *ὑπὸ μάλης*, which is used in the same connection.

Quod in praesentia fuit, 'which he had at hand.'

6. *Eiectis*. To smother the flames while he got across.

Mulier. Her name was Timandra.

Annos circiter xl. Alcibiades was at least forty-five years old in

404 B.C.

Chap. 11. § 1. *Gravissimi*, 'of great authority.'

Thucydides only praises his abilities as a general, and not his moral character.

Theopompus lived 378-304 B.C. He wrote, amongst other works, *Ἱστορίαι Ἑλληνικαί*, or Grecian History from 411 to 394 B.C., the battle of Cnidus.

Aliquanto, 'considerably.'

Natus: we must supply 'fuit' from the previous clause.

Timaeus lived 352-256 B.C. He wrote the history of Sicily from the earliest times to 264 B.C.

Maledicentissimi, 'very much given to abuse.'

2. *Dignitate vitae*, 'magnificence.'

3. *Eorum*, i.e. *Thebanorum*, to be supplied from 'Thebas.' Cf. Timoleon 3. 1.

4. *Duritia*, 'hardiness.'

Parsimonia, 'simplicity of life and dress.' *Victus* refers to his personal habits, *cultus* to his surroundings.

Thraecas, Greek accusative.

Vinolentos. Horace alludes to this (*Od.* 1. 27. 1)

'Scyphis pugnare Thracum est.'

6. *Princeps*, 'first.'

Ordiamur, 'let us go on to describe.' '*Ordior*' is rarely used with an accus. of the person. Cf. Themistocles 1. 2 'ab initio est ordiendus.'

VIII. THRASYBULUS.

Chap. 1. § 1. *Virtus*, 'merit.'

Dubito an, 'I think.'

2. *Huic contigit*, 'it was his good fortune.' Of the three verbs meaning 'to happen,' '*contingo*' is generally used of good fortune, '*accido*' of bad, '*evenio*' of either.

3. *Nobilitate*, 'in reputation.'

Ille nullam rem. Alcibiades did much without Thrasybulus, and was a much greater general; but Nepos is anxious to embellish the subject of his biography.

Quae ille, etc., 'for all which by some innate good fortune he got the credit.' '*Lucri facere*,' 'to make (a matter of) gain,' is best regarded

as a descriptive genitive. So 'compendi facere,' 'to make a saving of;' cf. Roby § 1306.

4. *Sed illa*, etc., i. e. in all campaigns the soldiers and fortune contribute to the result as well as the commander.

Concursu, 'the *mêlée*.' Cf. Hor. S. 1. 1. 7 'Militia est potior. Quid enim? Concurritur: horae | momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'

Vires vimque. Note the difference: '*vires*' = 'physical strength,' '*vis*' = 'fury.' But the combination is an odd one, and the mention of 'fortuna' and 'consilium,' which seem to require the same antithesis in this clause, makes it likely that Nepos wrote '*vices*' = 'the chances of war,' instead of '*vires*.'

Hic, 'in this.'

5. *Praepositi*. The thirty so-called tyrants formed the oligarchical government established at Athens by Lysander after the battle of Aegospotami, in 404 B.C.

Parserat, an old form for '*pepercerat*.'

Solus. His companions were Anytus and Archinus.

§ 1. *Phylen*. This place, still called Fili, stands on a steep rock Chap. 2. commanding the pass across Mount Parnes, on the road from Athens to Thebes, about fifteen miles from Athens.

Plus habuit. The number is variously stated at 30, 60, 70, and 100.

Actaeorum, poetical for '*Atheniensium*.'

Robur, 'support.'

2. *Contemptus est*. The thirty tyrants were prevented from attacking Phyle by a fall of snow. Grote 8. 363.

Illis contemnentibus. These words are in apposition—'to the tyrants, the despisers.' Learners must be very careful to remember that 'those who despise' can *never* be expressed in Latin by '*illi contemnentes*.'

Pernicii is the predicative dative.

3. *Neque sine causa*, etc. in sense belongs to '*omnium in animis esse debet*,' not to '*praeceptum illud*.' The sentence is carelessly constructed.

4. *Boni*, 'good citizens.' In the mouth of a conservative like Cicero '*boni*' always means the Optimates.

5. *Hinc*, 'after leaving Phyle.'

Munychiam. This harbour was more easily defended than the larger space of Piraeus. See Grote 8. 367 ff.

Bis. There was only one attack, in which Critias was killed.

6. *Prudentia*, 'discretion.' Thrasybulus, for strategical reasons, waited for his enemies to begin the attack. See Grote 1. c.

Iacentem, 'slain.'

7. *Cum quidem* implies that such bravery was surprising in such a man.

Exadversus: see on Themistocles 3. 4.

Chap. 3. § 1. *Hoc deiecto*, 'after his fall.'

Atticis. The Athenian oligarchy in the town: we should have expected '*Atheniensibus*.'

Fecit pacem. Pausanias did not make peace directly, but both sides sent ambassadors to Sparta, who sent fifteen commissioners to arrange the terms of a treaty. Grote 8. 381.

x. These ten were established instead of the thirty after their defeat one was taken from each tribe.

Praetores in Nepos generally means *στρατηγοί*, but here only 'chiefs, magistrates.' The eleven (*οἱ ἑνδεκα*), who superintended public executions, were also excepted from the amnesty.

2. *Praeclarum*, 'is greatly to the honour of.'

Illi = 'Athenienses.'

Oblivionis, Gr. *ἀμνηστίας*, sc. 'legem.'

3. *Cum quibus in gratiam reditum erat publice*, 'who had received a public pardon.' The phrase 'in gratiam redire cum aliquo' is common: cf. Suetonius' story of Tiberius, who, when a poor wretch who was being tortured in his presence begged that he might be released from his sufferings by death, replied '*Nondum tecum in gratiam redii*.'

Chap. 4. § 1. *Huic*. Grote says that a crown was given to each of the defenders of Phyle, and 1000 drachmae for a common sacrifice; 7. 425.

Expresserat, 'extorted,' does not apply to '*amor civium*.' Nepos' love of brevity often leads him to write inaccurately.

Magna gloria is nomin., but perhaps Nepos wrote '*magnae gloriae*,' which is more in his manner.

2. *Pittacus* lived about 600 B.C. He was lawgiver and governor of Mytilene. *Ille* = the celebrated.

Vii sapientum. The number and names of these are very differently given. See Grote 4. 126 ff.

Agri is genitive of description—'gifts consisting of land.'

Animi aequitatem, 'contentedness.'

Voluntatem, 'good will.'

Propria, 'secure.' See on Lysander 1. 5.

4. *Sequenti tempore*: 389 B.C.

Ciliciam. He met with his death at Aspendus in Pamphylia. Grote 9. 509.

IX. CONON.

Chap. 1. § 1. *Accessit ad rem*, 'began his public career.' He is first heard of as commanding at Naupactus in 413 B.C.

Insulis praefuit. This can only refer to his driving out the Spartan harmosts from the islands after the battle of Cnidus in 394 B.C.

Potestate, 'office.'

Pheras, in Messenia, near the sea coast, now called Kalamata. It is generally spelt Pharae. Conon attacked it in 393 B.C.

Coloniam, in the Roman sense. It was not a Grecian colony (*ἀποικία*), but a conquered town, in the possession of Spartan citizens.

2. **Aegos flumen :** compare Lysander 1, Alcibiades 8. This battle was in 405 B.C.

Afuit. Conon was present at the battle, but got safely away to Evagoras, prince of Cyprus, with whom he remained seven years, 405-398 B.C.

Diligens, 'careful.'

Accepturos fuisse. The hypothetical subj. ('acceptissent') can only be turned into Oratio Obliqua by substituting for it the fut. part. with 'erant (accepturi erant),' which in the infin. becomes 'accepturos fuisse.'

§ 1. **Rebus afflictis,** 'after their defeat.'

Chap. 2.

Quaesivit. This is not true. He remained at Cyprus because he was ashamed of returning to Athens after his defeat at Aegospotami.

Contulit se. Conon collected a Phoenician and Cilician fleet for the service of the king in 398, but was not joined by Pharnabazus till 394 B.C.

Satrapem. Pharnabazus was satrap of Phrygia, Tissaphernes of Lydia and Caria.

2. **Societate.** This is referred to in Alcibiades 10. 2.

Agasilaum, king of Sparta.

Ex intimis regis, 'though he had been one of the king's most trusted counsellors.'

Hunc adversus. Agesilaus was sent into Asia in 396, and Tissaphernes was ordered to resist him, but, in consequence of his inefficiency and the intrigues of Parysatis, Tissaphernes was beheaded in 395 B.C. Conon never commanded against him.

Habitus est, 'was considered.'

3. **Neque vero non,** 'and in fact.'

Tauro tenus. The Taurus is the great mountain range in the south of Asia Minor. It still retains its old name.

4. **Bellum indixerant.** Agesilaus was recalled in 394 B.C.

Praefectos, 'governors.'

§ 1. **Officio,** 'allegiance.'

Cyrum fratrem. Killed at Cunaxa 401 B.C. Parysatis was probably incensed against Tissaphernes because he had been the cause of the defeat of her favourite son.

Chap. 3.

2. **Chiliarchum,** probably the commander of the thousand *δορυφόροι* or body-guard.

Secundum gradum, 'the second place in the government.'

Ostendit, 'declares.'

3. **Nulla mora est**, 'there is nothing to prevent it.' Cf. the phrase 'nil moror,' 'I have no objection,' 'care nothing for.'

Cogitas: sc. 'agere.'

Venerari, 'do reverence,' bend down and kiss the ground.

Illi, the Greeks.

4. **Opprobrio**: this word is not often found in good prose writers. Tacitus uses it.

Chap. 4. § 1. **Huic**: sc. 'tradere.'

Scripta, 'in writing.'

Cognitis, 'having been read: ' see Lysander 4. 3.

Iusserit: sc. 'Cononem.'

Negavit sui esse consilii, 'said that it was not for him to advise.'

2. **Hinc**, 'from the capital.' Conon had probably collected the fleet before he went to Persia.

Cypriis et Phoenicibus. Cf. Cimon 2. 2. These two nations supplied the greater part of the Persian fleet.

3. **Rem administrant**, 'they made their preparations.'

4. **Cnidum**: this battle was fought in 394 B.C.

Liberata. Athens had been freed by Thrasybulus in 403 B.C. Conon and Pharnabazus overthrew in many towns the harmosts which had been established by Lysander.

5. **Muros**. The two walls from Athens to Piraeus were rebuilt 393 B.C.

Chap. 5. § 2. **Graecae civitatis**, 'of the Grecian name;' compare Alcibiades 7. 4.

Ioniam et Aeoliam, generally Aeolis, the Aeolic and Ionic colonies on the coast of Asia Minor.

3. **Tiribazus** was satrap of Lydia, Caria, and Ionia. He succeeded Tithraustes, who succeeded Tissaphernes.

Evocavit, 'invited.'

4. **Dinon** was father of Clitarchus, who wrote an account of Alexander the Great's expedition. He wrote a history of Persia. Grote believes that Conon escaped and lived at Cyprus with Evagoras, where he died about 390 B.C.

Imprudente. Cf. Lysander 4. 3.

X. DION.

Chap. 1. § 1. **Utraque tyrannide Dionysiorum** = 'tyrannide utriusque Dionysii.'

Superior = prior.

2. **Artes**, 'accomplishments.'

3. *Mores*, 'character.'

Suorum, 'his family.'

Aderat, 'he assisted him.'

4. *Illustriores*, 'of more than ordinary distinction.'

Crudelissimum nomen, 'reputation for extreme cruelty.'

5. *Ut*: we must understand '*ita*' before '*suspexerunt*.'

§ 1. *Fugiebant*, 'escaped the notice of.'

Indulgeret, 'showed him favour.'

2. *Platonem*. He had gone to Sicily to see Mount Aetna in 387 B.C.

Accerseret, another form of '*arcesso*.'

Ambitione, 'splendour.'

Chap. 2

3. *Delectatus est Dione*. The preposition is omitted because Dion is regarded rather as the *instrument* or *cause* than as the *agent* of his pleasure: in other words '*delectatus est*' is middle rather than passive.

Iussisset: sc. '*Dionysius*.' This change of subject is unusual in better writers. Cf. Pelopidas 4. 3, note. The story of Plato having been sold as a slave is probably false.

Rediit. He returned to Syracuse in 367 B.C., just after the death of the elder Dionysius.

4. *Gravi* is the predicate—'as the disease with which he struggled became severe.'

Maiori . . . periculo, ablative: we should expect '*in*.' Cf. Hannibal 9. 2 '*magno periculo*,' Eumenes 7. 2 '*minore invidia*.'

Quod putabat is the remark of Nepos, and therefore in the indicative.

5. *Agendi*, 'of carrying out his intention.'

Soporem, 'sleeping potion.' Cf. Tibull. 4. 4. 9

'*Sancte veni, tecumque feras, quicunque sopores* (al. *sapores*)

Quicunque et cantus corpora fessa levant.'

Dionysius died of fever, and this story is probably untrue.

§ 2. *Philistum*, a great historian, whose works have been lost. He imitated but was inferior to Thucydides. Cicero says of him, ad Q. Fr.

11. 13 '*capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus* Thucydides,' Quintilian, Inst. Or. 10. 1. § 74 '*imitator Thucydidis et ut multo infirmior ita aliquatenus lucidior*.' He was a flatterer of the Dionysian dynasty, and lived 435-356 B.C. He had been banished to Thurii by Dionysius the elder.

Chap. 3.

Tyranno—Dionysius; *tyrannis*—tyrants in general. Another reading is '*tyrannidi*.'

Historicis Graecis. Nepos' whole work was called '*de Viris Illustribus*,' and was probably divided into sixteen books, of which the eleventh was '*de historicis Graecis*' and the twelfth '*de historicis Latinis*.' See Introduction.

3. *Persuaserit facere* is irregular. Cf. Phocion 1. 3 'Hortarentur accipere.'

Libertatem. Dionysius' intention was to convert the government of Syracuse into a limited monarchy. Dion had previously persuaded him to do this, but he was prevented by the unseasonable severity of Plato. See Grote 11. 102 foll.

Voluntate, 'policy,' = Gr. *πολίσεις*.

Aliquanto, 'considerably.'

Chap. 4.

§ 1. **Triremem dedit.** Dionysius had intercepted a letter of Dion's to the Carthaginian commander in Sicily. He invited Dion into the Acropolis, led him unsuspectingly down to the harbour, where there was a boat ready for starting, charged him with treason, pressed him on board, and told the rowers to take him to Italy. Grote 11. 108.

Cum inter se timerent, 'since they feared each other.' 'Inter se' is the regular way of expressing reciprocal action in Latin.

Praeoccuparet, 'supplant,' 'intrigue against.'

2. **Odio hominis**, 'from personal hatred.' Plutarch's account is that Dionysius at first remitted Dion's property to Greece, but afterwards confiscated it, and that it was not till after this and the following outrages that Dion thought of employing force. See Grote loc. cit.

3. **Alii.** He was called Timocrates.

Indulgendo, 'by indulgence.'

4. **Commutatum**: the change of life enjoined by his father on his return.

Illuc, 'to my subject.'

Chap. 5.

§ 1. **Heraclides** had been commander of the mercenary troops, and was exiled 361 B.C.

2. **Multorum annorum** refers to his father's government as well as his own. Dionysius the younger had now reigned ten years. Dionysius the elder reigned thirty-eight, 'the head of a long-established government.'

Pauci. 800 soldiers were collected at Zacynthus at midsummer 357 B.C.

3. **Maximo animo**, 'with the greatest courage.'

Duabus. His squadron consisted of five merchant-men, two of them vessels of thirty oars.

Post diem tertium quam. See on Aristides 1. 5.

Attigerat. He landed at Heraclea Minoa. He then heard that Philistus was watching the coast of Italy, and that Dionysius had left Syracuse.

4. **Benevolentia**, 'the good-will of the citizens.'

5. **Iis ipsis**: sc. 'copiis.'

Regios spiritus, 'the pride of the despotic party.'

6. **Arcem et insulam**, the citadel and island of Ortygia.

Pactionibus. Dionysius offered to retire to Italy if he might enjoy the revenues of Gyasta, a fertile district near Syracuse. The offer was rejected, and Dionysius fled to Locri, leaving his eldest son Apollocrates behind. Nipperdey thinks that some account of this is lost from the end of the fifth chapter.

Uni. See on Miltiades 1. 1.

§ 1. **Est adorta:** see Thrasybulus 2. 5.

Chap. 6.

2. **Parens** in antithesis to 'filii.' The order of the words is awkward.

3. **Optimates.** Dion rather was supported by the nobles and Heraclides by the common people. Grote 11. 141.

Consensu. Heraclides was appointed admiral by Dion.

4. **Rhapsodia** here = 'book' (of the Iliad).

Non posse. Iliad 2. 204 οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω.

5. **Interficiundum.** The death of Heraclides did not take place till after the banishment of Dion to Leontini, his second return, and other events of importance, which have been possibly lost from the narrative of Nepos.

§ 2. **Cottidiana sumptus:** the expenses of pay and largesses to the soldiers. Chap. 7.

Id eiusmodi. His conduct was of such a nature, that in proportion as he gained the favour of the soldiers (by bribes) he lost that of the nobles (by extortion).

3. **Male audiendi,** 'to be badly spoken of;' Greek, *κακῶς ἀκούειν*. The Latin version is less frequent, but Cicero has it two or three times, once in a pun—'Erat surdaster M. Crassus; sed aliud molestius quod *male audiebat*' Tusc. 5. 40. 116, and Horace several times, e. g. Ep. 1. 16, 17 'Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.' Milton even imitates it, in English—'For which Britain *hears* ill abroad.'

Dictitabat, 'called him.'

§ 1. **Evaderent:** here the object of 'sedaret' is the subject of Chap. 8. 'evaderent.'

Callicrates. The name was really Calippus. 'He had been his companion in exile at Athens, had accompanied him to Sicily, and entered Syracuse at his side.' Grote.

Religione, 'conscience' or 'scruples.'

2. **Offensionem,** 'estrangement.'

Quod: sc. 'periculum.'

Dissidentis sensus, 'their differences of opinion.' But 'dissidentis' seems to be a corrupt reading.

3. **Excepit has partes,** 'undertook to play this part;' a theatrical term.

Se armat imprudentia Dionis, 'uses Dion's misplaced confidence against himself.'

Convenit, 'has an interview with.'

Coniuratione confirmat, 'strengthens their purpose by a mutual oath.'

4. Multis consciis, ablative absolute.

Elata, 'let out,' 'divulged.'

Conveniunt: sc. 'eum cuius.'

Sed: 'ait' must be supplied from 'negat.'

5. Deducunt, 'one of the most solemn and terrific oaths recognized in Grecian religion: going into the sacred grove of Demeter and Persephone, touching the purple robe of the goddess, and taking in his hand a lighted torch.' Grote 11. 175.

Religione, 'by this solemn rite.'

Conata is of course irregular, 'conor' being always deponent. Fleckeisen reads 'cogitata.'

Chap. 9. § 1. Hac mente: see Conon 4. 4.

Die festo, the Coreia, 'the festival of these very two goddesses in whose name and presence Kalippus had forsworn.' Grote.

Conventu, 'public throng.'

Domum, of Dion.

A foribus qui non discedant, 'with orders not to leave the door.'

A somewhat strained use of the subj. of purpose, of which Nepos is rather fond.

2. Ornat, 'equips.'

Agitari, 'to be rowed about.'

Cogitans . . . ut haberet. Final; but Cicero would have written 'se habiturum esse.'

3. Eant: on the omission of 'ut' see note on Miltiades 1. 4.

Conveniendi eius, 'of an interview with him.'

Viderentur, the historical present can be followed either by the present or imperfect.

Notitiam, 'their being well known;' a rare usage.

5. The order is involved: construe—'His cuius facile intellectus fuit sicut ante saepe dictum est quam invisa sit singularis potentia [despotism] et miseranda (sit) vita (eorum) qui se metui quam amari malunt.'

Ante saepe refers to the lost books.

6. Illi ipsi custodes may refer to 'custodiis saepit,' the guards with which Calippus surrounded the house, or may be suggested by 'metui,' the guards with which Dion surrounded himself; the *δορυφόροι* who were indispensable to a *τύραννος*.

Propria fuissent voluntate, 'if their affection had been devoted to him.' A very plausible reading, 'propitia,' is found in some edd.

Gladium, 'a short sword of the Laconian sort and of peculiar workmanship.' Grote.

§ 2. *Palam factum est*, 'was made public;' an expression used also **Chap. 10.**
by Cicero.

Praedicabant, 'proclaimed him,' properly used of heralds.

Sic belongs to 'successerat.'

Acherunte, 'the grave,' from Acheruns, a less usual form of Acheron.

Possent, for 'potuissent.' See *Madv.* 347. *Obs.* 2, and note on Themistocles 4. 3.

3. *Sepulcri monumento*, genitive of description. Cf. Phocion I. 3.

Donatus est. As Calippus reigned at Syracuse for more than a year after this, Grote thinks this statement untrue; II. 181.

Diem obiit: 353 B.C.

Quantum post annum quam. See on Aristides I. 5.

XI. *IPHICRATES.*

§ 1. *Disciplina militari*, 'knowledge of the art of war.'

Chap. 1.

Maioribus natu, 'those of earlier generations.'

3. *Pedestria*, 'of the infantry.'

4. *Peltam* was a light shield in the shape of a half-moon, the 'parma' was a round, heavier shield.

Postea: *πელτασταί* existed long before Iphicrates, as Nepos ought to have known. Possibly he meant to say that the infantry which before had been hoplites, now became peltasts.

Modum, 'the length.'

Loricarum: we must supply 'mutavit' from the beginning of the previous sentence. Very likely the word has dropped out.

Sertis, 'chain-armour.' The word is very rare except as a substantive in the sense of 'garlands.' Virgil has '*lorica conserta hamis auroque*' *Aen.* 3. 467.

Linteas. This kind of armour was known to Homer, cf. *Il.* 2. 529 *ὀλίγος μὲν ἔην, λινοθήρηξ*; and is mentioned by the poet Alcaeus, circ. 600 B.C.

Curavit, 'provided.'

§ 1. *Gessit*. Nepos has confused the chronological order. The exploits of Iphicrates in Thrace took place 389-387 B.C., his command at Corinth 393-390 B.C. **Chap. 2.**

Seuthes is mentioned in Alcibiades 8. 3.

Dicto audientes. See on Lysander I. 2.

2. *Singuli*, 'in their several positions.'

3. *Moram*, 'a regiment.' The Lacedaemonian army was composed of six *morae* (*μόραι*), each of which contained six *lochi* (*λόχοι*). The

lochus consisted usually of 100 men, divided into enomotiae (ἐνωμοταί) of twenty-five men. See Thucyd. 5. 68, and Arnold's note.

Interfecit. See on Aristides 2. 1.

Tota Graecia. The ablative of place where (locative) without a preposition is confined in prose to names of towns and small islands, to the words *domus*, *rus*, to substantives of place (e.g. *locus*, *regio*), with an epithet, also 'terra marique,' and 'mari' alone, e.g. Conon 1. 1, and to substantives with adjectives of place—e.g. *dextra* (manu), *media urbe*. *Totus* may be used with any subst. without a preposition, and must be classed as an adj. of place.

Iterum, 'a second time;' this is untrue.

4. **Artaxerxes**, Mnemon.

Voluit: this Aegyptian expedition was 377–374 B.C.

Fabiani, after Fabius Cunctator, who commanded in the Second Punic War.

5. **Impetus.** The march of Epaminondas against Sparta was in 368 B.C. The credit of defending Sparta is given in Agesilaus 6. 1 to Agesilaus.

Chap. 3. § 1. **Imperatoria forma**, 'commanding appearance.'

2. **Remissus**, 'indolent;' **patiens**, 'hardy.'

Amyntae, father of Philip and grandfather of Alexander the Great. Iphicrates was then (368 B.C.) commanding an Athenian force in Thrace.

3. **Causam capitis dixit**, 'defended himself on a capital charge;' in 355 B.C.

4. **Coti**, 'of Cotys;' this genitive is from the Latin form 'Cotus:' see Madv. § 33. Obs. 3.

Contra ea. Common in Nepos for the adverb 'contra,' which is usual in other writers. See Praefatio 1. 6.

XII. CHABRIAS.

Chap. 1. § 1. On the beginning see Themistocles 1. 1.

Elucet. Nepos entirely omits the chief exploit of Chabrias, the naval victory at Naxos, 376 B.C. In this battle the Athenian fleet, consisting of 80 triremes, manned chiefly by citizens, and commanded by Chabrias, disabled or captured 49 out of 60 Lacedaemonian triremes, and for a time restored the naval supremacy of Athens.

Fecit: 369 B.C.

2. **Agesilao**, etc. This correction is due to Lambinus. The old reading 'Agesilaum summum ducem' left the sentence incomplete.

Obnixo genu scuto, 'resting the shield against the knee.' 'Genu' is probably dative. (For other datives in -u in Nepos see note on Alci-

biades 4. 5.) They knelt on their right knee, and rested the shield against the left, so as to cover the whole body.

Id novum, 'this new device.'

3. *Illo statu*, 'in the above-mentioned posture,' e.g. *obnixo genu scuto*, etc.

Artifices, 'performers in public.'

§ 1. *Nepos* has again confused the chronology. The expedition to Cyprus was in 388 B.C., the first expedition to Egypt in 377 B.C., the second, in conjunction with *Agesilaus*, in 361 B.C. Chap. 2.

Sua sponte, 'on his own account,' as '*Condottiere*.'

3. *Artaxerxe*, *Mnemon*.

Magnas praedas, 'great advantage:' see *Agesilaus* 6. 8.

§ 1. *Cum*, 'in alliance with.'

Chap. 3.

Rediit. *Chabrias* was recalled from his first expedition to Egypt, but not from the second.

3. *Intueantur*. The MSS. read '*intuuntur*,' from '*intuor*,' an old form of '*intueor*,' used by *Plautus* and *Terence*; but the subjunctive is needed here.

4. *Fecerunt idem*. This is refuted by *Grote*.

Lesbo... *Sigeo*. The preposition 'in' must be supplied from '*in Thraecia*' above. This omission, which is contrary to the best usage, occurs again more than once in *Nepos*, e.g. *Alcibiades* 1. 3 '*non minus in vita quam victu*.'

§ 1. *Periit*: 357 B.C.

Chap. 4.

Bello sociali, the revolt of *Chios*, *Rhodes*, *Byzantium* and other allies against *Athens*, 357-355 B.C. See *Iphicrates* 3. 3.

2. *Iubet* depends on '*dum*.'

Perniciei. These forms in *-ei* are rare. The only others are '*dici*,' '*rei*,' '*fidei*,' '*aciei*,' '*spei*' (in genitive) and the irregular '*plebei*' from '*plebes*.' It is curious that *Nepos* uses '*pernicii*' for the dative *Thrasylbulus* 2. 2.

Rostro, by the beak of an enemy's ship.

3. *Cum posset si... deiecisset*. Without '*cum*' this would be '*potuit effugere, si deiecisset*.' In certain words and phrases which express the subjunctival ideas of *possibility*, *right*, *duty*, *power*, etc., the indicative may be substituted for the hypothetical subjunctive. Such are the indicatives of *possum*, *debeo*, *oportet*, *licet*; the indicative of *sum* with fut. part. or gerundive, or with *par*, *rectum*, *iustum*, *idoneum*, *melius*, etc.

Quae exciperet, 'to pick up.'

XIII. TIMOTHEUS.

Chap. 1.

§ 1. On the beginning see Themistocles 1. 1.

Virtutibus. Not only 'deeds of valour,' but including eloquence, etc., as the next sentence shows.

2. *Subegit*: 364 B.C. The chronology of Nepos is very inaccurate, as we have before seen.

Cepit: 365 B.C.

Oppugnando. Samos was taken and plundered by Pericles in 440 B.C.

Id, 'that,' i.e. Samos. The gender is remarkable, as is that of '*quo oppugnando*.' A similar but less irregular use of the neuter pronoun occurs in *Caes. Bell. Gall.* 1. 44. 5 '*Amicitiam populi Romani sibi ornamento et praesidio non detrimento esse oportere, idque se ea spe petiisse*.'

Praedae. The expedition probably took place in 364 B.C., but nothing is known of it, nor of the spoil which Timotheus is here said to have brought to Athens.

Liberavit: 364 B.C.

3. *Ariobarzani*. He was satrap of Phrygia, and had revolted against the king of Persia 379 B.C. Assistance was sent in 366 B.C., but Timotheus took no part in it.

Laco, Agesilaus.

Chap. 2.

§ 1. These events took place in 375 B.C., ten years before those previously related.

Circumvehens is used as the pres. part. of '*circumvehor*.' So '*ferentem*' *Datames* 4. 5.

Mare illud: we should expect the dative after '*adiacent*.'

2. *Principatum*, 'supremacy;' the Athenians had lost it after the Peloponnesian War, 404 B.C.

Legibus, 'conditions.'

Atticis. Cf. *Thrasybulus* 3. 1.

Tum primum. Altars sacred to Peace had existed before, but in celebration of this treaty yearly sacrifices were instituted to her.

Pulvinar, a couch or cushioned seat, placed before the altars and statues of the gods at the '*Lectisternium*.'

Chap. 3.

§ 1. *Premi sunt coepti*. The passive or deponent perfects of '*coepi*' and '*desino*' are regularly used with passive infinitives. Thus it is idiomatic to say '*amare desii*,' but '*amari desitus sum*.'

Defecerat Samus. Samos had not revolted, but was being blockaded by the revolted allies.

[*Macedo*] is very likely a 'gloss,' or explanatory note originally written in the margin, and incorporated into the text.

XIV. DATAMES.

Cui oppositus. Chares was sent, not against Philip, but to reduce Byzantium.

2. **Usu**, 'experience.'

3. **Suppresserunt**, 'stopped.'

4. **Publice**, 'officially.'

Sibi proclive fuisse . . . nisi desertus esset. In *Oratio Recta* this would be 'Mihi proclive fuit . . . nisi desertus essem,'—the 'vivid' use of the indicative, like 'Me truncus illapsus cerebro | sustulerat nisi Faunus ictum | dextra levasset' Hor. Od. 2. 17. 27. For the conversion of regular conditional sentences into *Oratio Obliqua* see on Canon 1. 2.

5. **Acer**, 'passionate.'

Adversarius, 'eager to thwart.'

Etiam potentiae, 'even their power was made the ground of accusation;' 'potentiae' is nominative plural, and refers to Timotheus and Phicrates.

Lisque eius aestimatur. See on Miltiades 7. 6.

§ 1. **Mortem.** He died 354 B.C., soon after his condemnation.

Chap. 4.

Multae, probably dative.

Novem partes, 'nine-tenths.' This is the regular mode of expressing a fraction in Latin, when the numerator is one less than the denominator. So $\tau\alpha \epsilon\nu\acute{\nu}\epsilon\alpha \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\eta$ in Greek. Other fractions are expressed as in English, e.g. 'septem decimae' (sc. partes) = $\frac{7}{10}$.

2. **Pleraque**: cf. Praefatio 1.

Adulescentulus, 'a very young man;' he was then about forty years old. The strict order of 'aetates' is 'pueritia,' 'adulescentia,' 'iuventus,' 'senectus;' the second lasting from fifteen or seventeen till thirty, the third till a man became 'senex' (Livy 30. 30 makes Hannibal call himself 'senex' when he was not yet fifty): but all these words are used vaguely. Cicero calls himself 'adulescens' when Consul in his forty-fourth year.

3. **De fama**: if condemned he would have become $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma$.

5. **Maximique consilii**, 'and of the greatest prudence.'

6. **Ratio**, 'circumstances.'

XIV. DATAMES.

§ 1. **Scythissa**, proper name.

Chap. 1.

Primum, 'at first.' 'Primo' would be more regular, but Nepos wishes to avoid ambiguity, as 'numero' immediately follows. The rule is that 'primo' is used of that which is strictly first in order of time (Nepos uses it correctly Themistocles 6. 5, Thrasybulus 2. 2, q. v.): 'primum' of contemporaneous facts, where the order depends on the speaker's choice (cf. Themistocles 2. 3, Epaninondas 1. 4), after particles ('ut,' 'cum,' etc.), and with a following 'tum,' 'deinde,' etc.

Artaxerxes: sc. 'Mnemon.' Reigned 405-359 B.C. (The date of his death is uncertain: Grote places it in 359-358.)

Manu: see Pausanias 1. 2.

Multis locis, 'on many occasions.'

2. **Militare munus fungens**; an archaism like 'summam potirentur' Eumenes 3. 4.

Cadusios: they lived on the S.W. shores of the Caspian. This war occurred 382 B.C.

Magni fuit, 'his assistance was of great importance.'

Chap. 2. § 1. **Autophrodates**, satrap of Lydia in the Cyprian war 389 B.C.

2. **Erat**, 'there lived.'

Dynastes, 'prince.'

Ortus a, 'descended from,' expresses a distant relationship. *Madv.* § 269. Obs.

Patroclo. Homer, *Il.* 5. 576, says that Pylaemenes was killed by Menelaus.

Dicto audiens: cf. Lysander 1. 2.

3. **Ex fratre et sorore**, 'their father and mother were brother and sister:' they were first cousins: cf. § 4.

Ut: 'si' is more usual.

Praesidio: cp. Themistocles 8. 5.

4. **Amita**, 'a father's sister;' a mother's is 'matertera.' From 'amita' comes our 'aunt.'

Monuit = 'admonuit.'

5. **Praefecto**, 'satrap:' Conon 2. 4. Ariobarzanes was satrap of Phrygia, Autophrodates of Lydia and Ionia.

Nihilo segnius, 'with undiminished energy.'

Chap. 3. § 1. **Thuyn**. The Greek *Θούυς Θούυνος* makes the accusative *Θούυν* and *Θούυνν*. *Nepos* uses the accusative *Thuyn* and *Thuym* (c. 3. 3) and *Thuynem* (c. 3. 2).

Maximi corporis terribilique facie. The genitive and ablative are both used (with epithet) to express *quality*; but the genitive rather expresses general character, the ablative special characteristics. Thus the genitive is used of measurements—e.g. 'Fossa quindecim pedum' (never 'pedibus'). So also 'vir magni ingenii' (not 'ingenio'). The distinction is often kept up in English—'A man *of* great stature, *with* a savage expression.' 'Facies,' however, = the whole *appearance*, not the same as 'vultus,' and the ablative may be used merely because 'facies' has no genitive. Of mental qualities both are used.

Et...et...-que. This rather unusual coupling occurs again in Eumenes 9. 6, and in Hor. Carm. Saec. 57 'Iam Fides et Pax et Honor Pudorque.' The rule is that a single 'et' must never be followed by '-que' (so *καί*...*τε* is not used in Greek), but two 'et's' are occasionally followed

by '-que,' as here. '-que . . . et' is avoided by Cicero, but used by other good prose writers.

Niger, 'swarthy.'

Aureis belongs to both substantives.

Regio, Thuys had called himself king.

2. **Ipse . . . circumdatus . . . gerens** is the nominative to 'textit' and 'ornavit' which precede, 'while he himself was clothed.'

Agresti duplici amiculo, 'the thick double cloak of a peasant.'

3. **Novitatem ornatus**, 'the strangeness of the costume.'

4. **Admitti**: sc. 'Thuyt et Datamen.'

Nobilis, 'famous.'

5. **Misit**: 379 B.C.

Tithrauste, mentioned in connection with Pharnabazus, Conon 3. 2.

Imperio, 'authority.'

§ 1. **Hic**, 'at this time.'

Chap. 4.

2. **Saluosam**, 'mountainous.'

Portarentur, 'were being brought.'

3. **Quamvis magno**, 'ever so great.'

4. **Hac**: sc. 'nave.'

Speculatur, 'whilst he is considering the truth.'

Pisidas. The Pisidians lived to the west of Aspis. He hired them as mercenaries.

5. **Ferentem**, 'hastening,' participle of deponent 'ferri.' Cf. Timotheus 2. 1 'circumvehens.'

§ 1. **Acen**. A seaport town in Phoenicia, later Ptolemais, and, in the Middle Ages, St. Jean d'Acre.

Convenit, 'met:' sc. 'eos qui.'

2. **Aulicorum**. Cf. c. 1. 1 'eorum qui regiam tuebantur.'

Excepit, 'incurred.'

Consenserunt, 'conspired.'

3. **Datami**, genitive.

4. **Hoc**, 'for this reason.'

Obediat, 'paid deference to.'

5. **Cognitis**, 'having read.'

Fide, 'honesty.'

§ 1. **Haec**, 'these preparations.'

Chap. 6.

Non ita cum = 'cum non ita:' cf. Pausanias 2. 5.

2. **Iis locis**, 'in such a position.'

Manum . . . expeditam, 'his troops ready.'

3. **Praefectus**, 'in command of.'

Si in turbam exisset, 'if it became known among the common soldiers.'

4. **Omnes . . . sequi**, governed by 'par esse.'

6. **Composito** = 'ex composito,' 'by agreement.'

Ab iis stare, 'to stand by,' 'take the part of.'

7. Reliquos, 'the rest of the Pisidians;' some had been killed by the deserters.

8. Cogitatum, 'designed.'

Cogitatum, 'stratagem.' The repetition of the word is awkward.

Chap. 7. § 1. Tamen, 'notwithstanding.'

Maximo natu: see Pausanias 5. 3.

Sibi negotium esse cum, 'that he had to deal with.'

2. Ciliciae portae. The famous pass between Cilicia and Syria, near which the battle of Issus was fought in 333 B.C.

3. Quin ancipitibus, 'without being attacked in a dangerous position.' 'Anceps locus' is a place which admits of an attack on both sides. See Themistocles 3. 3.

Eo: sc. 'loco.' Vellet: sc. 'adversarius.'

Chap. 8. § 1. Quam: simply 'potius.'

Uno loco. For the omission of 'in' see on Iphicrates 2. 3.

2. Barbarorum includes all who were not Greeks.

Cardacas were a body of standing infantry like the Turkish Janissaries. Here, however, they include cavalry.

3. Consistebat, 'rested.'

Huius: sc. 'Autophrodates.'

Hominum mille: cf. Miltiades 5. 1: and for the omission of 'quam' see on Themistocles 5. 2.

4. Callide cogitanti, 'full of skilful stratagems.'

5. Maiore calamitate. Ablative of attendant circumstances. 'Cum' might have been used.

Hortatus est, 'he advised him to conclude peace and friendship with himself (Autophrodates) that he might have an opportunity of becoming reconciled with the king.' The use of 'hortor' with the accusative of the thing advised is generally limited to a neuter pronoun. Madv. § 228. c.

6. Quam: 'gratiam.'

Chap. 9. § 2. Sicut cum, 'as, for instance, when.'

Inimici, *their* enemies.

4. Insidiatores, 'assassins.'

Vidissent: 'facere.'

5. Concurrentes, 'running towards him.'

Animum advertit = 'animadvertit.'

Chap. 10. § 1. Captus est, 'was overcome.'

Mithridates is probably the same who is mentioned before, 4. 5.

Ei: Mithridati: we should expect 'sibi.'

Fidem, 'promise.'

2. Hanc: 'dextram.' The Greeks spoke of δεξιὰν πέμπειν, but it is doubtful whether the pressure of the hand was given by proxy, or

whether a symbolical hand of gold or silver was sent. 'Hanc,' however, can be referred to 'fidem;' 'a rege missam' is not found in the early editions.

Quarum, governed by 'partim,' as is not uncommon.

3. **Infinitum**, 'implacable.'

Absens, 'at a distance.'

Susceperant should be 'suscepissent:' cf. Pausanias 2. 5.

§ 1. **Id**, 'that idea,' that he was an enemy of the king.

Cum ipso rege: before it is said 'regis provincias vexat,' which were governed by satraps.

Quo is an adverb.

2. **Ante aliquot dies**: we should expect 'aliquot ante diebus.'

Obruit. Cf. Cic. de Senect. 'Neque senem quemquam oblitum audivi quo loco thesaurum obruisset.'

Utrique should be 'uterque,' as only two persons are spoken of.

3. **Suspicionem**, that he was going to his own men for assistance.

4. **Telum**, 'a sword:' there were several.

Qui erat in conspectu; a remark of Nepos.

5. **Consilio**: see Themistocles 4. 5.

Neminem perfidia. Polyænus, 7, 21, tells a very different story as to Datames' good faith.

Chap. 11.

XV. EPAMINONDAS.

§ 1. **Epaminondas**: see on Themistocles 1. 1.

Chap. 1.

Ad suos referant, 'measure by the standard of their own.'

Leviora, 'somewhat trivial.'

Fuisse: 'leviora.'

2. **Abesse a principis persona**, 'is inconsistent with the character of a great man.' For 'princeps' see Themistocles 8. 3, and cf. the bitterness with which Tacitus comments on Nero playing and singing in public. For 'persona' see on Praefatio 1.

Saltare. Nepos remarks on the differences between Greek and Roman customs in the Preface. Cicero agrees with Nepos in his estimate of dancing:—'Nemo saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit.'

3. **Exprimere imaginem**, 'to portray.'

Consuetudinis, 'habitual principles.'

Pertineat, 'may serve.'

Eam refers both to 'consuetudinem' and 'istam.'

4. **Disciplinis**, 'method of instruction.'

§ 1. **Pauper iam**, 'he inherited the poverty which had been the lot of his ancestors.'

Chap. 2.

Pervulgata. We read of Damon chiefly in the Dialogues of Plato; he was pupil of Lamprus, and the intimate friend of Pericles.

2. *Lysim.* He had been driven out of Italy, and had taken refuge at Thebes.

Doctrinis, 'various kinds of learning.'

Artibus, 'accomplishments.'

3. *Ad*, 'measured by.'

Erant is attracted as it were into the past tense by 'utique olim.'

4. *Servivit*, 'study to obtain.'

Illam, 'he thought that one was *necessary* for athletes, the other *useful* in war.'

Ad eum finem quoad, 'so long as.'

5. *Stans complecti* refers to 'luctando,' *contendere* to 'currendo.'

Chap. 3.

§ 1. *Temporibus*, 'circumstances.'

2. *Continens*, 'full of self-command.'

Ferens... celans. This use of the participle with acc. instead of an adj. with objective genitive is rather unusual.

Commissa celans. Horace has the same opinion of the man who does this—

'*Commissa tacere | qui nequit, hic niger est*' Sat. 1. 4. 85.

3. *De re publica*, 'about politics.'

4. *Caruerit*, 'made no use of.'

Facultatibus, 'the pecuniary help.' The word bears this sense in the plural only.

Usus est: '*amicorum facultatibus*.'

5. *Virgo amici*='the unmarried daughter of a friend' is so odd an expression that some critics would omit the words '*amici*' and '*quac*.'

Nubilis: '*esset*.'

Pro facultatibus, 'in proportion to their means.'

Imperabat, lit. 'requisitioned'—a military phrase.

6. *Fecerat*, 'had made up.'

Ea res, 'that assistance.'

Chap. 4.

§ 1. *Abstinentia*, 'disinterestedness.'

Voluntatem, 'purpose.'

2. *Coram* is probably an adverb, but it may stand after its case (if so, '*Diomedonti*' must be abl.), as often in Tacitus and Suetonius.

Pro, 'as the price of,' but '*prae*' would rather be expected here.

3. *Magistratui*: cf. Themistocles 7. 4.

4. *Istud*, 'what you ask.'

Delatum, 'as a present.'

5. *Escenderet*, 'embark' for his return to Asia.

6. *Versuum*, 'lines,' not 'verses.'

Chap. 5.

§ 1. *Concinnus*, 'terse.'

Perpetua oratione, 'set speech,' as opposed to a debate.

Menecliden. Plutarch calls him *δεινότατον μὲν λέγειν, κακοθηῆ δὲ καὶ ἀκόλαστον*.

2. **Ut Thebanum** scilicet, 'for a Theban at least;' cf. Thuc. 4. 84 οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν. As to the opinion of the talent of Boeotians cf. 'Boeotum in crasso iurares aëre natum' Hor. Ep.

2. 1. 243, and Pindar's Βοιωτία ὅς Ol. 6. 90.

3. **Florere**, 'gaining distinction.'

Imperatoris, 'as general.'

Conciliās, 'you bring about.'

4. **Principes**, 'the leaders,' ἡγεμόνες.

5. **Habebat suspicionem**, 'was suspected of,' (αἰτίαν εἶχε.)

6. **Quod**, 'if,' 'inasmuch as.'

Dieque uno, at Leuctra, 371 B. C.

§ 1. **Conventum**, 'public assembly,' called in Arcadia οἱ μύριοι: **Chap. 6.**
369 B. C. Grote 10. 395.

Atticorum: see Thrasybulus 3. 1.

2. **Procreasse** should regularly be 'proccasset,' depending on 'qui.' Relative clauses in Oratio Obliqua become subjunctive, except when 'qui' = 'et is,' 'nam is,' introducing an independent statement: in this case the acc. and infin. are used.

4. **Legati**, 'when he was envoy.' The congress was held at Sparta in June, 371 B. C. See Grote 10. 222 foll.

Sociorum. The congress included the members of the Lacedaemonian confederation, and envoys from Thebes and Athens.

Coarguit, 'exposed.' He showed that the Spartan supremacy was only maintained by the power of the sword. Grote 10. 228.

§ 1. **Invidiam**, 'jealousy.'

Chap. 7.

Noluissent: 368 B. C. The army was sent to Thessaly to rescue Pelopidas, who had been captured by Alexander of Pherae. See Grote 10. 388.

Dux. The army was commanded by Cleomenes and the other Boeotarchs.

Diligentia, 'skill.'

Desiderari coepta est. See on Timotheus 3. 1.

Privatus numero militis, 'in a private capacity as a common soldier.' **Numero** = ἐν μέλει.

3. **Hoc**, i. e. 'suorum iniurias tulit.'

Duxisset: 370 B. C.

Peloponnesum: see Miltiades 1. 1, and note.

Praetores, 'generals,' Βοιωτάρχαι. Nepos' account is inaccurate. The command of the whole body of Boeotarchs expired naturally, and Epaminondas persuaded them to retain it for four months longer: on heir return to Thebes they were acquitted with great ease, although technically guilty of death. See Grote 10. 327 foll.

4. **Populi scito**. Cf. Aristides 1. 5.

5. **Foret** = 'esset': see Lysander 1. 3.

Chap. 8. Conferre, 'to turn it.'

§ 1. Reditum est. Cf. Miltiades 4. 5.

Omnem causam, 'the whole responsibility.'

Quid diceret, 'what to say.' 'Non habeo quod dicam,' 'I have nothing to say.'

2. Periculo. If the reading is sound, this word must bear the meaning of 'sentence,' a use for which there is some support in Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 79. § 183. Many editors, however, consider the passage corrupt, and have conjectured 'cippo' (Lambinus), for which there is little to be said, or 'sepulcro,' which might possibly have been changed to 'periculo.' Grote exposes the falsehood of this silly boast (10. 350).

3. Ante se should be 'ante eum,' as Epaminondas is not speaking.

Ausus fuit, the perfect with 'fui' expresses a lasting condition, — 'had the courage to,' not merely 'dared to.' Madv. § 344.

4. Salvi esse possent, 'could secure their own safety.'

5. Obsidione clausit. Epaminondas marched up to Sparta in 370 B. C., but did not seriously attack it till 362 B. C.

Risus omnium: cf. Hor. S. 2. 1. 86

'Solventur risu tabulae; tu missus abibis.'

Chap. 9. § 1. Mantineam: 362 B. C.

Hostes. The accusative after 'insto' is very rare. It occurs in Plautus, once in Virgil (Aen. 8. 434), and once in Caes. B. C. 3. 17. 5 'Unum instare de indutiis vehementissimeque contendere.' Once again also in Nepos, Eumenes 4. 2.

Universi. Nepos suddenly changes the subject from Epaminondas to the Lacedaemonians.

Magna caede: an ablative of attendant circumstances, similar to the ablative absolute.

Sparo. Virgil, Aen. 11. 682, speaks of 'agrestis sparus,' which Servius explains, 'rusticum telum in modum pedi recurvum.' It had a wooden handle, a curved blade on one side, and a sharp point at the extremity. It was probably not a regular weapon, but used on emergency at a sudden rising.

Chap. 10. § 1. Uxorem numquam duxit. Plutarch says he was married.

2. Ex me natam, 'as my daughter.'

3. Quo tempore: 379 B. C. Grote 10. 3.

Civilem, 'gained over citizens.'

In primis stetit = ἐν προμάχοις ἦν.

4. It infitias, 'denies,' found in Livy, but not common in the best writers for 'infitiatur.' The accusative here expresses the *purpose* or *object*, as in the acc. of the verbal noun in -tus, -sus (supine in -um). The only strictly parallel phrases are 'ire exsequias' = 'to attend a funeral,' 'suppetias advenire' (very rare) = 'to come to help.'

Paruisse. Thebes was not a subject state before Epaminondas, but it was only during his time that it held the *ἡγεμονία* of Greece.

Contra ea. See on Iphicrates 3. 4.

XVI. PELOPIDAS.

§ 1. **Historicis** generally = *λόγιος*, 'a man acquainted with history,' **Chap. 1.** not 'a historian.' In the former sense it is used as an adjective by Cic. pro Muræna 7. 16 'hominibus litteratis et historicis.'

Vulgo, 'the world at large.'

Virtutibus, 'exploits.'

Res explicare, 'to give a full account.'

Summas attigero, 'mention the chief points.'

Potuerō. This use of the fut. perf. for the simple fut. is merely an idiomatic refinement, and need not be marked in translating. All Latin writers are fond of this tense, which not only expresses the accurate sequence of time, of which the Latins were so much more careful than we are, but supplies a more rhythmical termination than the simple future.

2. **Occupavit**: 382 B. C.

Paucorum, probably a translation of *ὀλίγων*, the oligarchy.

Laconum rebus studebant = *ἐλακῶνίζον*.

3. **Obsideri**, 'should be kept in a state of siege,' by the surveillance of the garrison in the Cadmea.

Solos qui auderent. The subjunctive must be classed as an extension of the common 'is qui' = 'the kind of man to.' 'Solus qui,' 'unus qui,' 'nemo qui,' etc. are thus used with the subj. in the best writers, though the idea of tendency is scarcely perceptible.

Adversus, 'face to face.'

4. **Potestates**, 'positions of authority.'

Carebat, 'was deprived of.' The phrase 'to be without a country, which to us sounds strange and exaggerated, is common in Latin, and testifies to the strength of the feelings which in antiquity bound the citizen to his native city. Tacitus even uses the phrase 'patria carere' of the retreat of Tiberius to the island of Capreae in the Bay of Naples.

§ 1. **Ex proximo**, 'close at hand.'

Chap. 2.

2. **Consuerant.** Two of the polemarchs were invited to dinner by Phyllidas on going out of office.

3. **Duodecim**: Xenophon says seven; Plutarch twelve. See Grote 10. 112.

Amplius. For the omission of 'quam' see on Themistocles 5. 2.

Paucitate, 'this small number.'

Percussa est, 'suffered a shock.'

4. *Principes*, ἡγεμόνες: cf. Epaminondas 5. 4.

Ita multo post. The taking of the Cadmea was 379 B. C., the battle of Leuctra 371 B. C.

5. *Exierunt.* Nepos forgets that he had written 'cum existiissent' before.

Chap. 3. § 1. *Seiunctum ab re*, 'foreign to my subject.'

2. *Archino*: his name was Archias, a hierophant.

Sicut erat signata, 'just as it was, with the seal unbroken.'

3. *Obsidione*: 'obsideri' c. 1. 3.

Cadmeae occupandae. 'Of the capture of the Cadmea.' The common Latin idiom of concrete for abstract; cf. 'liberatarum Thebarum laus' just below. It is noticeable how few abstract substantives in *-tio* occur in the best prose.

Chap. 4. § 1. *Supra*; in the life of Epaminondas (10. 4).

Pelopidae, genitive, governed by 'propria.'

2. *Delectae manus*, the *ἱερὸς λόχος*, a sacred band of three hundred picked men, maintained and exercised at the public expense. Grote 10. 162.

3. *Oppugnavit*, Epaminondas: *tenuit*, Pelopidas. This omission of the pronoun in introducing a new subject is not uncommon in Nepos; cf. Dion 2. 3; Phocion 2. 3; Lysander 4. 2; Atticus 8. 4, 9. 4. See also Hamilcar 1. 3; Atticus 15. 3; Dion 6. 4; Pausanias 1. 3. This invasion was 370 B. C.

In Persas. Pelopidas went as ambassador to Persia 367 B. C. The Messenians were brought back from exile and the city of Messene built 370 B. C.

Denique, 'in a word.'

Ita . . . ut, etc. 'Although second, yet second to Epaminondas alone.' This concessive use of 'ita . . . ut' is common; for 'persona' see note on Praefatio 1.

Chap. 5. § 1. *Thessaliam*: 368 B. C.

2. *Violatus*, 'wronged.'

Persuasit: 363 B. C.

3. *Simulac conspexit.* The best prose writers avoid 'ac' before *c, g, q*, for the sake of euphony.

4. *Secunda victoria*, 'as the victory was inclining to his side;' but probably 'secunda pugna' was the old reading, 'victoria' being a marginal explanation which has crept into the text. Compare the death of Cyrus at Cunaxa.

XVII. AGESILAUS.

Chap. 1. § 1. *Socratico*, 'the pupil of Socrates.'

2. *Lacedaemoniis*, dative.

Haberent depends on the preceding perfect. In the time of Xenophon the kings no longer existed.

Nomine, 'king in name rather than in authority.'

Proeli, genitive of 'Procles:' so 'Neocli' Themistocles 1. 1. Procles and Eurysthenes were sons of Aristodemus, one of the Heraclidæ.

Principes, 'the first.'

3. **Fieri**: sc. 'regem.'

Qui proximus esset. For the subjunctive see on Cimon 4. 3.

4. **Natum**, 'at his birth.'

5. **Suffragante**, 'by the support.' The story is that Lysander interpreted the oracle which bade Sparta 'beware of a lame reign' to mean 'a reign of one not genuinely descended from Heraklê's.'

§ 1. **Bellumque regi facerent**. The Lacedæmonians were already **Chap. 2.** at war with the Persians.

Dimicari, impersonal. Cf. Miltiades 4. 5.

Quos refers to 'classis' as well as to 'exercitus.' See *Madv.* 214. b.

2. **Offenderet**, 'found,' lit. 'stumbled on.'

3. **Id**, the arrival of Agesilaus.

Praefectos, 'satraps.'

Conveniret, impersonal.

4. **Contra ea**. Cf. Iphicrates 3. 4.

5. **In eo**, 'by doing so.'

Confirmare, 'gave confidence to.'

Deum, gen. plur. **Secum facere**, 'was on his side.'

Iis studere, 'to take the side of those.'

§ 1. **Dies**, 'the time.'

Domicilia, 'palaces.'

2. **Usquam**, 'in any direction.'

4. **Hostes non credituros**, etc. Agesilaus was evidently as well aware as Talleyrand that the best way to deceive was by sometimes telling the truth.

Aliud ac. 'Ac' or 'atque' is the common correlative of 'alius;' 'qui' of 'idem.' 'Nisi' and 'quam' after 'alius' only in negative clauses.

5. **Eandem Cariam**, 'Caria also:' a strange use, not to be paralleled from the common use of 'idem' in narrative='he also.'

6. The three battles of Agesilaus were all fought in the plain, and in two of them the Persians were the conquerors. Nepos is constantly in the habit of loose and foolish exaggeration.

Versatus est, 'conducted himself.'

§ 1. **Ei**. 'Ad eum' would be more regular.

Venit, in the spring of 394 B. C.

2. **Pietas**, 'sense of duty.'

Suspicienda, 'to be respected,' 'looked up to.' This is the common

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metaphorical meaning of 'susplicere';—the opposite meaning 'to suspect' seems to be confined to the participles, 'susplicor' being used instead for the finite verb.

Potiundi, a gerundive, may be formed from 'potior,' because in older Latin it was transitive, and is so used even by Nepos, Eumenes 3. 4 (where, however, some editors have altered it to the gen. or abl.). So also 'utor' and 'fruo' have gerundives.

Comitio, 'senate-house,' the ἐφορείον or place of meeting for the Ephors at Sparta.

Nostri. Nepos refers to such men as Sulla and Julius Caesar, who when once at the head of their troops paid little attention to the orders of the Senate.

Illuc, 'to my subject.'

4. **Hac mente**, 'with these feelings.'

Anno vertente, 'in the course of a year.' Nepos, in Themistocles 5. 2, makes the time six months; it was really four. See the note, loc. cit. xxx diebus. In spite, too, as Plutarch says, of the opposition of Thracians and Thessalians.

5. **Coroneam**: 394 B. C.

7. **Ut haberet**, explanatory of 'hoc'='this . . . namely that,' etc.

8. **Haberi**. 'Eos' is omitted, as several times in Nepos, though contrary to good usage.

Supplicibus eorum, 'those who had fled to them for refuge,' i. e. the 'simulacra arasque.'

Chap. 5. § 1. **Collatum est**, 'was concentrated.'

2. **Agesilao duce**. He was not present at this battle, but heard of it on his return to Asia.

Illa multitudo, 'by that number of men,' 'decem millibus.' Ab-lative of instrument, as if some passive verb like 'puniri' were substituted for 'supplicium dare.'

3. **Suae virtuti**, 'to his character.'

Eum . . . qui. 'The man to,' etc. The same sort of answer as this was given by the Spartans to the Thebans on the capture of Athens.

4. **Voluerimus . . . expugnaverimus**. See note on Pelopidas 1. 2. Here, however, Nepos probably uses the fut. perf. to avoid 'volemus,' which (like some other 1st and 2nd pers. plurals of 'volo,' 'nolo,' 'malo') seems, for some unexplained reason, never to have been used.

Illis: sc. 'barbaris.'

Chap. 6. § 1. **Illa calamitas**, 'the well-known disaster:' 371 B. C.

Quo ne . . . noluit. This sentence is an example of Nepos' worst style. 'Quo ne proficisceretur' is superfluous, as the meaning is fully expressed by the following 'exire noluit,' and the triple repetition of 'exire' is aggravated by the fact that 'exitu' is metaphorical, = 'the result,' while 'exire' is used literally.

Oppugnaret: 369 B. C.

Sine muris. Compare the words of Nicias, Thucyd. 7. 77 *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τείχη*.

2. Se: we must supply 'dixit' from the preceding 'laudavit.'

3. Expertes, 'ignorant of.'

Eoque libentius, i. e. 'se non commoverunt.'

Quae cogitaverant, 'their design:' so 'cogitata' Pausanias 1. 3.

§ 1. Posset, subj. of indefiniteness. See on Cimon 4. 5.

Chap. 7.

3. Dynastis: see Datames 2. 2.

4. Eurysthenes. Agesilaus was descended from Procles. Nepos' statement is of course absurd in its literal sense; but 'eadem domo' may mean 'the same sort of house.'

Progenitor, 'the founder of his race,' not used in good Latin.

Libidinis, 'licence.'

Patientiae, 'hardiness.'

Abstinentiae, 'self-denial.'

Cuiusvis, governed by 'domo' understood.

§ 1. Ut, 'in proportion as.'

Fautricem, 'on his side.'

Chap. 8.

Ignoti, 'those who did not know him.'

2. Annorum lxxx. This genitive (of quality) without a substantive expressed is quite unusual. It occurs, however, five times in Nepos in expressions of age, the other places being Eumenes 13. 1; Cato 1. 2; Atticus 17. 1; Hamilcar 3. 1. Livy also has it twice.

Acta, 'beach,' ἀκτὴ: cp. Virg. Aen. 5. 613

'At procul in sola secretae Troades acta.'

Obsoleto, 'worn out,' 'threadbare.' Cic. Pis. 36, even has 'homo obsoletus,' as we say 'a ragged man,' and Hor. Od. 2. 10. 6 'tectum obsoletum,' 'a tumble-down house.'

Ornatus, 'costume.'

Non beatissimos, 'by no means well off.' Understand 'eos esse.'

3. Regios, 'the king's servants,' i. e. of Tachos, king of Egypt.

4. Eiusmodi genera obsonii is a confusion between 'ea genera obsonii' and 'eiusmodi obsonia.'

Secundam mensam, 'the second course:' cp. Hor. Sat. 2. 2. 121

'Tum pensilis uva secundas

Et nux ornabat mensas.'

6. Nectanabide: he had revolted against Tachos, and got Agesilaus to help him.

7. Non habebant. Diodorus, however (15. 93), says τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἐν μέλειτι κομισθέντος εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.

XVIII. EUMENES.

Chap. 1.

§ 1. On the beginning see Themistocles 1. 1.

Virtuti, 'merit.'

Ille quidem is often used in sentences of this kind, followed by 'sed,' = 'certainly'—'but still,' e.g. Cic. Brut. 34 'P. Scipio non multum ille quidem nec saepe dicebat, sed Latine loquendo cuivis erat par.'

The ellipse of 'fuisset' in this clause is unusual. Cf., however, Atticus 8. 2.

Quod refers to 'non maior (fuisset).'

2. Florerent, 'were powerful.'

3. Etsi, 'and yet.'

Domestico, 'in his own country.'

Aliquando, 'sometimes.'

4. Peradulescentulus, a vicesimo anno : c. 13. 1.

5. Ad manum, 'by his side.'

Quod. For this use of the neut. pronoun see on Timotheus 1. 2.

Graios : see Preface 3.

Participem, 'confidant.'

6. Illo interfecto : 336 B.C.

Alterae for 'alteri.' So 'totae' Timoleon 3. 2.

Hetaerice, ἑταρική ἵππος. The 'Companions' were the heavy (native) cavalry. There may have been sixteen squadrons of heavy cavalry and eight of Sarissophori or light cavalry, each squadron from 180 to 250 men. Grote 12. 85.

Chap. 2.

§ 1. Mortuo : 323 B.C.

Summa = 'summa rerum.'

Tuenda, 'to be held in trust,' as ἐπίτροπος.

2. In suam tutelam, 'had attained their majority.' Cf. Cic. de Inv. 2 'Pupillus autem mortuus est antequam in suam tutelam veniret.'

Aberat. Craterus was in Cilicia, Antipater in Macedonia.

Unum, 'above all : ' see on Miltiades 1. 1.

Data . . . dicta. See on Cimon 1. 3. Cicero has the same play on words, Ep. ad Att. 2. 7. 3.

Dicta, 'assigned.' It was then held by Ariarathes.

4. Leonnatus was satrap of the Asiatic territory bordering on the Hellespont. See Grote 12. 432.

5. Ex praesidiis eius, 'from the power of his garrison.'

Chap. 3.

§ 3. Firmas, 'to be depended on.'

Claritate, 'reputation.'

4. Summam potirentur. See Agesilaus 4. 2 ; Datames 1. 2. For the subj. see on Cimon 4. 3.

Eumenes is repeated on account of the length of the sentence.

Simul cum nuntio = 'simulac nuntium acceperunt.'

6. Locorum, 'the ground.'

Quo erat deteriore. All the old editions read 'deterior,' which gives a much simpler construction. If 'deteriore' is retained, it must be an ablative of quality.

§ 1. Concurrit, 'engages;' cedit is in anticipation of the event. **Chap. 4.**

2. Intellegi possent. This personal construction is rare. See Madv. § 400. c.

Hostis: see Epaminondas 9. 1.

4. Cum id non posset: sc. 'facere.' Cf. Lysander 3. 2.

Amplo, 'honourable.'

§ 1. Interficitur: his own army mutinied and slew him. See **Chap. 5.** Grote 12. 453.

Qui deseruerant: sc. 'Perdiccam' = 'desertores.'

Percussus, 'greatly shocked.'

2. Antigonus was placed in command by Antipater.

Ad manum accedere = εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν.

3. Castellum, 'fortress.'

Phrygiae. Nora is in Cappadocia, on the borders of Lycaonia.

4. Manens = 'si maneret.' Nepos' use of the pres. part. is not to be imitated.

Agitandi, 'for exercising them.'

Iumentum, 'an animal,' any beast used for riding, drawing, or carrying; contracted from 'iugi-mentum,' like 'momentum' from 'movi-mentum.'

Concalferi, 'sweated' = 'concalferi.'

Et: we must supply 'ut' from 'quo;' 'neve' would be better.

5. Caput: the straps must have gone close behind the fore-legs.

Plane, 'at all.'

Post, 'behind,' belongs to 'exsultare.'

Calces remittere = 'recalcitrare.'

Spatio, 'race-course' or exercising ground.

6. Aequae nitida, 'in as good condition.'

7. In hac conclusione, 'whilst shut up in this fortress,' more than a year. Grote 12. 455. For the construction cf. Alcibiades 5. 5 'in imperio.'

Apparatum, 'siege-train.'

Alias, adverb.

Sub divo, 'without cover;' lit. 'under the open sky:' cf. Hor. Od. 3. 2

'Vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat

In rebus.'

§ 1. Fuerat, pluperfect, shows that Alexander was dead.

Chap. 6.

Utrum is seldom found in a single question like this.

Eas res, 'that government.'

2. Filius. Alexander had two sons, Heracles and Alexander. Nepos here refers to the second.

Aliqua cupiditate, 'by any feelings of ambition.'

4. Uterentur, 'should follow his advice.'

Chap. 7. § 1. Corporis custos, 'one of the body-guard.' The *σωματοφύλακες* were Alexander's chief generals, or rather aides-de-camp.

Phalanx. The characteristic feature of the Macedonian army, introduced by Philip, and used by Alexander in all his wars. The phalangite carried a pike of the enormous length of 21 feet, held in both hands, called 'sarissa;' when the phalanx was drawn up, the pikes of the fifth rank projected beyond the front rank, and those of the front rank 15 feet before them. This formation was very effective on the plain, to withstand the charge of a body of hoplites, but it was impossible to manœuvre with it on broken ground, or to change its front rapidly. The Swiss and German infantry of the middle ages often carried long heavy pikes, and fought in the same formation.

Summi imperii: see Lysander 1. 4.

Alii is strictly inaccurate, as Antigonus was 'alienigena.' Fleckeisen accordingly reads 'aliius.'

2. Principiis, 'the middle of the camp.' In the Roman camp the 'principia' was the position of the general's tent, the altar and the eagles, but the Greeks had no similar arrangement.

Invidia, 'unpopularity;' for the ablative cf. Dion 2. 4 'maiori periculo' and Hannibal 9. 2.

3. Quod effecit, 'he succeeded in his purpose,' i. e. 'ut minore invidia esset.'

Chap. 8. § 1. Paraetacis, in the north of Persia.

Male acceptum, 'roughly handled.'

Finitima, i. e. Mediae.

4. Paratis, 'whilst on their guard.'

Consilii novi, 'unusual stratagem.'

Posset perveniri. For Nepos' fondness for impersonal constructions cf. Miltiades 4. 5.

5. Altero tanto longiorem, 'as long again,' 'twice as long,' the regular idiom.

Copiosa, 'well-supplied.'

7. Imperavit . . . comparari. The acc. and infin. after 'impero' is irregular; it recurs however in Hannibal 10. 4.

Culleos, 'leather bags.'

Omnes celat. See on Alcibiades 5. 2.

Chap. 9. § 1. Ex fumo: the soldiers had lighted fires to warm themselves in spite of the orders of Antigonus.

2. Titubantibus, 'uncertain,' lit. 'staggering' (here mentally).

De rebus summis, 'of their safety.'

Quod is the relative to '*imperata facere*.'

Rem expediturum, 'would find a way out of the difficulty.'

3. *Infinos montes*, 'the foot of the mountain.'

Obvii erant, 'were in the way.'

Prima nocte, 'the beginning of the night.' The Greeks divided the night into three watches, the Romans into four.

6. *Et . . . et . . . -que*. See on *Datames* 3. 1.

Quoniam posset. Subj. because it is the thought of *Antigonus*.

Iumenta, 'animals:' see 5. 4.

§ 1. *Hic*, 'on this occasion;' cf. *Miltiades* 3. 3.

Chap. 10.

2. *Macedonum veteranorum*: cf. '*Halicarnassiam civem*' *Themistocles* 1. 2.

Nonnullorum, 'the jealousy which some felt against merit.'

Fidem amittere, 'to break their oath.'

3. *Cum*, 'although.'

Per suos. So '*per me licet*' is used, = 'as far as I am concerned.'

Summis rebus, 'for empire.'

4. *Eumene recepto*, etc. The phrase is almost repeated from *Alcibiades* 8. 4.

Maximarum rerum, 'of the greatest success.'

§ 2. *Oculis*, 'for their eyes,' dative. *Fructum*. So we say 'to feast their eyes.'

Chap. 11.

Qui vellent . . . qui studebant. Observe the difference of mood—the first general, the last definite. See on *Cimon* 4. 3.

Formam, 'appearance.'

3. *Deuteretur*, an *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*.

Quin does not govern '*iuberet*,' which represents the imperative in *Oratio Recta*. '*Quin iubeto*' = 'why does he not order?'

4. *Ferocius*, 'too haughtily.'

Potius quam always takes the subjunctive, as the words contain a notion of purpose.

5. *Falsum*: after this word there is a lacuna which *Nipperdey* proposes to fill up as follows:—'*Nam cum in proeliis acerrime cominus pugnare consuesset nemo eorum qui manum cum eo conseruerunt pari esse potuit. Id quod mirabilis aspectus eius faciebat.*'

Dignitate honesta, 'a noble and dignified appearance.'

§ 1. *Rettulit*, 'brought the question before.'

Chap. 12.

2. *Denique*, 'in a word.' Cf. *Epaminondas* 4. 3.

In quo uno tantum esset, 'one who was of so much importance.'

3. *Aliquando*, 'at one time.'

§ 1. *Annorum v et xl*. See on *Agesilaus* 8. 2.

Chap. 13.

Apparuisset, 'had acted as secretary,' '*apparitor*.'

Talem repeats the '*sic*' of the beginning of the sentence.

2. In quo, 'about him.'

Eumene vivo. The successors of Alexander assumed the name of king in 306 B. C., when Eumenes had been dead some time, and when the children of Alexander had been already killed.

3. **Praefectus**, 'governor.'

Cassandrus. Greek proper names in *-δρος* generally become *-der* in Latin, not *-drus*.

4. **Comitante toto exercitu** is untrue.

Uxorem. Her name was Barsine.

Atque . . . -que. This unusual coupling occurs again ('ac . . . -que') in Agesilaus 7. 3.

XIX. PHOCION.

Chap. 1. § 1. **Saepe.** Plutarch says forty-five times.

Notior : sc. 'est.'

Ex quo, 'in consequence of which.'

Bonus, ὁ χρηστός.

3. **A rege** depends upon 'munera :' we should expect a participle such as 'missa.'

Munera magnae pecuniae. Genitive of description. Cf. Dion 10. 3 'Sepulcri monumento,' Atticus 2. 6 'modus mensurae.'

Careret, 'do without.'

Hortarentur accipere. Cicero would have written 'ut acciperet.' Cf. Dion 3. 3 'ei persuaserit facere finem.'

4. **Dignitatem**, 'position.'

Chap. 2. § 2. **Primo quod** should be followed by 'postea' or 'deinde quod,' but the sentence is left unfinished.

Consenserat : he was sent as ambassador to Antipater, with Demades and Xenocrates, after the battle of Crannon. See Grote 12. 435.

3. **Eum** (Phocionem), 'subornaret' (Demosthenes). See on Pelopidas 4. 3.

4. **Iussu** is not in the MSS, but its insertion seems required by the sense, as 'imperium populi' is a phrase quite inappropriate to Phocion's position at Athens.

Cassandri praefectum, 'placed by Cassander as governor' (in Munychia).

Dercylo : he was then στρατηγός.

Idem : Dercylus.

Negavit depends upon 'quod,' which follows 'concidit.' Phocion is introduced on account of the length of the sentence.

Obsidem fore, 'would stand surety.'

5. **Sine quo** : sc. 'Piraeo.' Grote finds great fault with Phocion for his conduct in this respect ; 12. 468.

Chap. 3. § 1. **Agebat**, 'supported.'

Utebatur, 'enjoyed.'

3. Philippum, Arrhidæus, half-brother of Alexander the Great.

Verbo, 'ostensibly.'

4. Agnone, an orator of Athens of the democratic party, whose real name was Agnonides.

§ 1. Cum, 'although.'

Commoda, 'interests.'

2. Perorandi, 'of finishing his speech.'

Legitimis quibusdam confectis, 'after certain formalities had been gone through.'

Undecimviris, τοῖς ἑνδεκα, the official superintendents of executions at Athens.

Ad supplicium depends upon 'tradi.'

3. Euphiletus, v. l. 'Emphyletus,' which is suspected to be a proper name compounded for the occasion by Nepos out of ἔμφυλος τίς ('tribulis').

4. In hoc, 'against him.'

Sepultus est. His body was carried out of Attica and burnt in the Megarid by Conopion an undertaker. Phocion's wife afterwards brought back his ashes to Athens, and buried them. Grote 12. 480.

Chap. 4.

XX. TIMOLEON.

§ 1. On the beginning see Themistocles I. 1.

Exstitit, 'showed himself.'

Nescio an, 'I think.'

Inveteratam. It had lasted for about 60 years, Dionysius having established his power in 405 B. C.

2. Non simplici fortuna, 'with very varied fortune.'

3. Posset: sc. 'Timoleon.'

Antetulerit . . . duxerit. See on Miltiades 5. 5.

4. Haruspitem. The prophet was called Orthagoras, the brother-in-law Aeschylus.

Communem, common to Timophanes and Timoleon.

Eisdem refers to both of them.

Dum conficeretur, 'until the deed should be accomplished.' Madv.

§ 360.

Procul in praesidio, 'he was keeping watch at a little distance.' Plutarch says that he covered his head and wept.

5. Pietatem, 'brotherly affection.'

Invidia. For the feeling about this compare that felt about Brutus at Rome, Virg. Aen. 6. 824

'Utcunque ferent ea facta minores,
Vincet amor patriae.'

Chap. 1.

Mater, Demariste: for a full account of this see Grote 12. 192 foll.

Detestans, 'with curses.' Plutarch says, *φωνάς τε δεινὰς καὶ κατάρas κατ' αὐτὸν ἀρωμένη φρικώδεις*.

Chap. 2. § 1. Dione: comp. Dion 10. 2. The younger Dionysius returned to Syracuse in 346 B.C. Timoleon's expedition was in 344 B.C.

Syracusarum: see Lysander 1. 4.

Felicitate: he sent Dionysius to Corinth within fifty days after he had landed in Sicily. See Grote 11. 214.

2. Utrorumque: cf. Datames 11. 2.

Adiuti fuerant. 'The pluperfect with "fueram" properly denotes the pluperfect of a condition, e.g. "Arma, quae fixa in parietibus fuerant, humi inventa sunt" (Cic. Div. 1. 34), but it is also used instead of the usual pluperfect of the action.' Madv. § 344. Obs. 1.

Exstare, 'survive.'

Detulisset, 'he had reduced.'

3. Decessum, 'departure' from Sicily.

Hiceta, tyrant of Leontini, who had first assisted Timoleon against Dionysius, but was now in alliance with the Carthaginians to make himself despot.

Dissensisse: sc. 'a Dionysio.'

Cupiditate, 'ambition:' cf. Eumenes 6. 2.

4. Maximas copias. Diodorus says 70,000 foot and 16,000 horse.

Fugavit: 341 B.C. For a graphic account of this battle see Grote 11. 246 foll.

Mamercum, tyrant of Catana.

Chap. 3. § 1. Regiones, 'the country.'

His, i. e. Corinthians, understood in 'Corintho:' cf. Alcibiades 11. 3.

2. Totae insulae. See Eumenes 1. 6.

Deduxerant, 'who had led the first colonists,' the *οἰκισταί*.

3. Dionysius the elder.

Disiecit. He erected courts of justice on its foundations.

Propugnacula, 'strongholds.'

4. Obtinere, sc. 'posset.'

5. Imperite, 'without foresight.'

Sententia cognita, ablative absolute.

6. Benevolentia, 'his popularity,' the goodwill of others towards him.

Neque id magis, etc. A very similar expression occurs in Miltiades 2. 2.

Chap. 4. § 1. Lumina oculorum, 'his eye-sight.' 'Oculos' simply would suggest that the eyes themselves were destroyed.

2. Theatrum, the usual place for public assemblies.

3. Recreare, 'to restore.'

4. Numine, 'influence.'

Automatias, 'fortune,' *Ἀυτοματίας*. The Greek genitive termination is retained.

Sanctissime, 'with the greatest reverence.'

§ 1. Natali suo die. The battle of Crimessus was fought on the Chap. 5.
27th of Thargelion, about the middle of May.

2. Vadimonium imponere, 'to make him give bail.'

Speciem, 'his idea,' or the ideal.

3. Voti esse damnatum, 'his prayer was fulfilled.' 'Voti damnari' signifies to be bound in the penalty of paying anything offered as a vow; as this can only happen when the wish is granted, it comes to bear the meaning of 'a fulfilled prayer.' Cp. Virg. Ecl. 5. 80

'Damnabis tu quoque votis,'

and Aen. 5. 235

'Candentem in litore taurum

Constituam ante aras, *voti reus*.'

4. Gymnasio: a sepulchral monument was built, and porticoes and palaestrae added to it. The whole was called Timolonteum. Grote
II. 276.

XXI. DE REGIBUS.

§ 1. Graecae gentis, 'of Greek origin.' Datames was not a Greek, Chap. 1.
but the 'fere' excepts him.

Qui videantur. The subjunctive is restrictive, like that after 'qui quidem' = 'those at least who.'

Separatim. The first book of the de Viris Illustribus was probably de Regibus Exterarum Gentium: see Introduction.

2. Spartani, i. e. 'reges.'

Qui dominatum imperio, 'who in their office were possessed of supreme power.'

Cyrus reigned 559-529 B.C.

Darius reigned 521-485 B.C.

Hystaspi, genitive, as 'Neocli' Themistocles I. I.

Virtute, 'merit.'

3. Generis, i. e. 'Persarum.'

Xerxes reigned 485-473 B.C.

Macrochir = Longimanus, reigned 473-425 B.C.

Mnemon, 405-359 B.C. See Datames I.

Xerxi, genitive.

4. Amplissimae, 'most noble.'

Manu, 'in action.'

Floruit, 'was distinguished.'

Matris suae, Parysatis.

Uxorem, Statira.

Tantum, 'only so far.'

Eum, 'dolorem : ' pietas, 'filial affection.'

5. Naturae debitum reddiderunt. It is surprising to find so exact a correspondence with our own familiar phrase 'paid the debt of nature.'

Praefecto, 'satrap.'

Chap. 2. § 1. Philippus reigned 359-336 B.C.

Alexander reigned 336-323 B.C.

Epirotes : we must supply 'ceteros Epirotas antecessit,' or take 'Epirotes' (v. l. Epirotas) as nominative.

Pyrrhus : 297-272 B.C.

2. Siculus : see above.

Dionysius reigned 406-367 B.C.

Cupidus, 'ambitious.'

Singularis, 'absolute.'

Studuit, the perfect is unusual with 'dum.' See Madv. § 336.

Obs. 2.

Eius : sc. 'imperii.'

Maiores : supply 'quam.' See note on Themistocles 5. 2.

In, unusual. Madv. § 276.

Ex tribus. Dionysius had no children by his first wife.

Chap. 3. § 1. Antigonus, killed at Ipsus 300 B.C.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, died 283 B.C.

Lysimachus, killed in battle against Seleucus 281 B.C.

Ptolemaeus, son of Lagus, called Soter, father of Ceraunus and Philadelphus.

4. Filio : Ptolemaeo Philadelpho. He was not killed by him.

5. Constat, 'it is agreed.'

XXII. HAMILCAR.

Chap. 1. § 1. Barca : cf. Nicia for 'Nicias' Alcib. 3. 1.

Poenico = 'Punico.'

2. Eius adventu : see Madv. § 276. Obs. 2. He arrived in Sicily 247 B.C.

Ipsae : these statements are exaggerated in the usual manner of Nepos.

Quo facto, 'which being the case.'

Erycem. The town on the mountain of the same name. The Romans were in possession of the summit and foot. Hamilcar cut their forces in two by holding the town.

3. Interim : 242 B.C.

Aegatis, acc. plural. They were three islands off the west coast of Sicily, called Aegusa, Phorbantia, and Hiera.

C. Lutatio Catulo, by which name he is mentioned below.

4. *Donicum* = 'donec.' Elsewhere only found in Plautus.

5. *Ferocia* (abl.), 'high spirit.'

Compositurum. 'Se' is omitted, after the manner of Nepos.

Tenuerunt is in the indicative, as the remark of the writer: so 'transportarat' Miltiades 3. 4.

§ 2. *Primo*, the order is, 'qui fuerant mercennarii milites adversus Romanos.' Chap. 2.

3. *Impetrarunt*: the Romans sent them no troops, but assisted them in other ways.

Imperatorem: 239 B.C.

5. *Propagavit* is untrue: v. l. 'prorogavit.'

Tota Africa. For the omission of 'in' see on Iphicrates 2. 3.

§ 1. *Bellandi*, with the Romans.

Chap. 3.

Duxit: 237 B.C.

2. *Princeps* = 'primus.'

Largitione, etc. Livy only says, 'Is plura consilio quam vi gerens . . . conciliandisque gentibus, rem Carthaginensium auxit.'

§ 3. *Obtestationibus*, 'adjurations.'

Chap. 4.

Experiri, 'measure himself with.'

XXIII. HANNIBAL.

§ 1. On the beginning see Themistocles 1. 1.

Chap. 1.

Superavit; the true perfect—'has surpassed.'

2. *Congressus est*, sc. Hannibal. *Cum eo*, sc. 'populo Romano.' The battle of Nola is an exception.

Civium suorum: the leader of the party who opposed him was Hanno.

Obtrectatio, 'jealousy.'

Deposuerit, 'surrendered.' Subjunctive after 'qui' = 'since.' Cf. Dion 2. 2 'qui quidem . . . non potuerit.'

§ 1. *Philippum*, king of Macedonia 220-179 B.C. Philip conducted two wars against the Romans, 211-205 and 200-196 B.C. Chap. 2.

Antiochus, the Great, king of Syria 223-187 B.C. He fought against the Romans 192-189 B.C.

2. *Venissent*: 192 B.C.

Voluntate, 'intentions.'

Consiliis, 'communications,' belongs to 'adducerent.'

Alia atque. See on Agesilaus 3. 4.

3. *Iovi*: Hamilcar of course sacrificed to his own god Baal.

4. *Divina res*, 'religious ceremony;' a common phrase.

Conficiebatur, unusual after 'dum:' see de Regibus 2. 2.

Fidem, 'promise.'

6. Si me celaris. For construction see on Alcibiades 5. 2.

Chap. 3. § 2. Minor, etc.: this construction is unusual, for 'minus xxv annos natus.' There is, however, a great variety in these expressions of age, almost every possible form being found, except the full form 'minus quam tres annos natus,' of which no instance appears. The particular form used in this passage is very rare, but occurs once in Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 49 'ne qui maior triginta annis natus legeretur.' See Roby § 1273. Nepos has 'maior annos lx' de Regibus 2. 3; 'non amplius novem annos' Hannibal 2. 3; 'cum haberet annos circiter lx' Atticus 7. 1. Hannibal was at this time twenty-six years old.

Foederatam, 'was in alliance with the Romans.'

Civitatem, 'town.'

Expugnavit: 218 B.C.

3. Saltum, 'chain:' 218 B.C.

4. Graium, 'the Graian.' Hannibal probably crossed the Alps either by the Little St. Bernard, or the Little Mont Cenis, both of which are in what are now called the Graian Alps. The name is not derived from the Grecian Hercules.

Loca, 'the country.'

Itinera muniit, 'he made roads,'—the regular phrase.

Ornatus, 'fully equipped.'

Chap. 4. § 1. Pepulerat. This is not true; the Romans routed the Numidian cavalry at the mouth of the Rhone.

Clastidi. Nepos seems to have confounded the battles of Ticinus and Clastidium.

2. Utrosque: see Datames 11. 2.

3. Aequè bene usus sit. For once Nepos understates the truth: other writers say that Hannibal lost the sight of one eye.

Praetorem: he was 'legatus pro praetore.'

4. Hinc. The events of Hannibal's succeeding campaigns are narrated in complete disorder and confusion: we see from this how untrustworthy a historian Nepos is to be considered.

Fugavit: this was at Cannae, 216 B.C.

Paulum Aemilium.

Chap. 5. § 1. Profectus est. Hannibal's march to Rome did not take place till five years later, 211 B.C.

Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator in 217 B.C., the year before Cannae. The defeat of Minucius took place in the same year.

2. Dedit verba, 'deceived.'

Dispalatam: cf. Lysander 1. 2.

Extra vallum, the rampart which formed the boundary of the camp. His real intention was to give the idea that the Carthaginians were retreating by torch-light.

3. **Gracchum.** This happened in 212 B.C. Gracchus was not Consul at the time of his death, but Marcellus was; the proper Latin would therefore be, 'bis consulem' and 'quintum (adv.) consulem.'

Interfecit: the defeat of Marcellus was 208 B.C.

4. **Est,** 'it would be:' cp. Epaminondas 4. 6.

Nemo, it is only true that Hannibal was never beaten.

§ 1. **Revocatus:** 203 B.C.

Chap. 6.

Rhodanum: see on 4. 1.

Padum, i. e. Ticinum. The Ticinus (Ticino) is one of the largest tributaries of the Po.

2. **Impraesentiarum,** colloquial expression for 'in praesentia rerum.' The phrase is used frequently by Appuleius, once by Tacitus (Ann. 4. 59), and by Cato. Petronius, c. 58. 70, has 'depraesentiarum.'

3. **Zamam:** the battle was probably fought in the spring of 201 B.C. The exact place is not known.

§ 1. **Consules:** 200 B.C.

Chap. 7.

2. **Cum his:** we should rather expect 'secum,' and 'obsides sui' below, but the ambassadors speak of the Carthaginians as a third party.

3. **Acceptum,** 'welcome.'

Obsides (eo loco) futuros quo (ut essent) rogarent.

4. **Praetor,** 'praetor;' a civil magistracy at Carthage answering to the praetorship at Rome.

Rex is the Latin equivalent for 'suffete,' the Phoenician title of the two chief magistrates at Carthage; probably the same word as the Hebrew 'shophetim'='judges.' The suffetes appear to have been chosen from a few leading families. We do not know whether a suffete could be re-elected, or how far his authority extended. The whole question of the constitution of Carthage is obscure. 'Suffetes' were also appointed at Gades, and probably in other Carthaginian colonies.

6. **His senatus daretur,** 'an audience of the senate was given them.'

§ 1. **Consulibus:** 193 B.C.

Chap. 8.

Si forte; the expression is colloquial, and not quite accurate.

Antiochi, 'in Antiochus;' governed by 'spe fiduciaque.'

2. **Memoria,** 'account.'

Interfectum can only belong properly to 'servulis,' and is joined to naufragio' by zeugma.

3. **Eius:** 'Hannibalis.'

Propius is seldom found with the dative, 'prope' never, in good Latin, 'ab' being used instead. Virgil has one instance of 'propius' with dative (Georg. 1. 355), and there is one doubtful instance in Cicero.

Thermopylis: Antiochus was defeated there by the Romans in 191 B.C.

4. **Quo:** 'praelio' must be supplied from the sense of the clause before: an instance of Nepos' careless writing.

- Chap. 9. § 1. *Fugato*: at Magnesia, near mount Sipylus, in Asia Minor, 190 B. C.
Dederetur. Antiochus was bound by the terms of the treaty to surrender him.
 2. *Magno periculo*. For the ablative see on Dion 2. 4.
Quid providisset, 'took some precautions.'
- Chap. 10. § 1. *Prusiam*, king of Bithynia.
 2. *Ab eo*: 'Prusia.'
 3. *Utrobique*: 'et mari et terra.'
 4. *Imperavit . . . colligi*. 'Ut' with subj. is the regular construction.
 5. *Tantum satis*, a pleonastic expression for 'satis.' The phrase 'satis habere,' 'to be content,' occurs again Epaminondas 4. 5.
- Chap. 11. § 1. *Utrisque*: see Miltiades 7. 3.
Quarum: 'classium.'
Caduceum is the Greek *κηρυκεῖον*, 'a herald's staff.' The *p* becomes *d*. It was originally an olive staff with *στέμματα*, which were afterwards changed into serpents. Hermes is represented with a 'caduceus' as messenger of the gods.
 4. *Praesidia*, 'fortifications' = 'castra nautica.'
 5. *Conici coepta sunt*. See note on Timotheus 3. 1.
- Chap. 12. § 1. *Flaminium*: not Lucius but Titus.
 2. *Ne haberet sibique dederet*. Understand 'ut' before 'dederet.'
 A similar construction occurs in Pausanias 3. 7.
 3. *Prusia*: cf. 'Nicia' Alcibiades 3. 1.
Usu veniret: see note on Alcibiades 4. 5.
 4. *Puer*, 'slave.'
 5. *Neque . . . retinendam*, 'could not be preserved:' possibility is often expressed by the gerundive after a negative or 'vix,' but never in positive sentences.
- Chap. 13. § 1. *Acquievit*, 'rested from his labours.' This euphemism for death has been more common since the spread of Christianity. Tacitus however has 'acquiesco' once in this sense.
Septuagesimo. Hannibal was sixty-three years old at the earliest of these dates.
Consulibus: the three years are 183, 182, 181 B. C.
Atticus, according to Cicero, Orator c. 34, 'annorum septingentorum memoriam uno libro colligavit.'
 2. *Volso* conquered the Galatians in Asia Minor in 189 B. C., and made peace with Antiochus.
 3. *Huius*: 'Hannibalis.'
Silenus. Cicero says of him, de Divin. 1. 24, 'is diligentissime res Hannibalis persecutus est.'

XXIV. CATO.

§ 1. **Municipio**, 'country town.' The 'municipium' of Tusculum Chap. 1. belonged to the class which had the 'civitas,' but whose citizens could neither vote *at Rome*, nor hold a magistracy there. Cato there fore 'demigravit.'

Honoribus, 'to obtaining public offices.'

Perpenna was consul 92, censor 86, and died 49 B.C., at the age of ninety-eight; so that he might have known friends of Cato and Nepos personally.

Censorius, 'who had held the office of censor.'

2. **Consulibus**: 214 B.C.

Senam: commonly called the battle of the Metaurus, fought 207 B.C.

3. **Quaestor**: 204 B.C.

Obtigit, 'he fell to the lot of:' the quaestors cast lots to decide the proconsul or proprætor to whom they should be attached.

Pro sortis necessitudine, 'as the closeness of the connection demanded.' Cicero says that a consul and his quaestor should live together like father and son.

4. **Aedilis**: 199 B.C. **Plebi**, old genitive from 'plebes.'

Praetor: 198 B.C.

Ex qua: he had passed through Sardinia in coming from his quaestorship in Africa.

Q. Ennium. Born 239 B.C., he first introduced the Greek hexameter into Italy; and wrote in this metre his 'Annales,' containing an account of the Second Punic War.

Minoris aestimamus. The 'genitive of price' is really a locative: 'pluris' and 'minoris' are therefore constructed by false analogy from 'magni,' 'parvi,' etc., which are not true genitives.

§ 1. **Consulatum**, 195 B.C. **Triumphum**, 194 B.C.

Chap. 2.

2. **Consul iterum**. See note on Hannibal 5. 3.

Cum quidem, 'although.'

Potentia, 'personal influence.'

Senatu is dative. See 'casu' Alcibiades 6. 4; and perhaps 'usu.' See note on Alcibiades 4. 5.

3. **Censor**: 184 B.C.

Praefuit, 'administered.'

Multas res . . . qua re is an awkward combination. 'Qua re' = 'in order that thus.'

Edictum. The censor issued an edict at the beginning of his term of office in which he declared the principles upon which he intended to act.

4. *Octoginta*: this is an exaggeration. He died 149 B. C., and was then only eighty-five years old.

Temptatus, 'attacked.'

Chap. 3. § 1. *Probabilis*, 'who carried conviction.'

3. *Capitulatim*, 'summarily.'

4. *Praetura* *Sergii Galbae*: 150 B. C.

Doctrina, 'cultivation.'

5. *Studiosos Catonis*, 'those who are interested in Cato.'

XXV. ATTICUS.

Chap. 1. § 1. *Ab origine ultima*, 'from the earliest beginning.' At a time when the great families of Rome sought to trace their descent from high antiquity, the *Pomponii* were said to have been derived from *Pompo*, a son of *Numa*, and they bore *Numa's* name and face on their coins.

Perpetuo obtinuit, 'always maintained.'

2. *Usus est*, 'he enjoyed.'

Quibus impertiri debet. This use of '*impertio*' = 'to make one a sharer in' is rare, and seemingly confined to the comic poets and *Suetonius*, who uses it several times. The ordinary construction is acc. of the thing and dative of the person.

4. *L. Torquatus* was consul 65 B. C., *C. Marius*, son of the famous *Marius*, consul 82 B. C. *M. Cicero* is the famous orator.

Consuetudine, 'intercourse.'

Chap. 2. § 1. *Decessit*: before 88 B. C.

Sulpicii. *P. Sulpicius Rufus* was tribune in B. C. 88. He belonged to the *Marian* party, and fled with his leader from Rome when *Sulla* led his army upon the capital. *Marius* escaped to Africa, but *Sulpicius* was discovered in a villa, and put to death. The persons of the tribunes were sacred; hence the point of '*tribunus interfectus est*.'

2. *Se contulit*: 86 B. C.

4. *Gratiam*, 'popularity.'

Versuram facere. So *Lambinus* for the old '*usuram*.' '*Versuram facere*' means 'to change one's creditor,' 'to borrow money in order to pay a debt.' The Roman capitalists often made large fortunes by loans on extortionate terms to distressed provincial communities.

5. *Multiplicandis usuris*, 'by compound interest.'

Chap. 3. § 1. *Communis*, 'affable;' cf. *Miltiades* 8. 4.

2. *Midiae* was the chief of the Roman party in Athens.

Locis sanctissimis. For the ablative see on *Iphicrates* 2. 3.

3. *Domicilium* governs 'imperii.'

Ut eandem, etc. v. l. 'Ut eandem et patriam haberet, et dominam.'

§ 1. *Decedens*. Sulla left Asia in the year 84 B.C., after the end of Chap. 4. the Mithridatic war.

Humanitate, 'cultivation.' Atticus was then five-and-twenty.

Suavitas, 'sweetness.'

2. *Deducere*, 'to take him home.'

Officio, 'sense of duty.'

3. *Rei familiari*. Atticus made a large fortune by lending money to foreign towns on good security, that they might be able to pay their tribute.

Urbana, 'in the city (of Rome) itself.' This must refer to a later period, when he returned to help Cicero in his election.

4. *Comitia eorum*, 'their elections.'

Fugienti, 58 B.C., after Atticus' return.

HS = 'sestertiorum.' 'Sestertius' means $2\frac{1}{2}$, and is derived from 'semis tertius.' The symbol means II = two and S = 'semis,' half.

5. *Remigravit*: he returned to Rome at the end of 65 B.C., when matters had long been quiet in the state.

Prosecuta est, 'spent.'

§ 1. *Difficillima* 'very surly,' 'hard to please;' the opposite of 'facilis,' 'good-natured.' Chap. 5.

2. *Ex dodrante*, 'of three-fourths of his estate:' 'dodrans' is derived from 'de quadrans,' $1 - \frac{1}{4} = \frac{3}{4}$.

Centiens: supply 'centena millia sestertiorum,' ten millions of sesterces, about £90,000.

3. *Quinto*, the brother of Marcus the orator.

4. *Nulla obtrectatio*, 'no jealousy:' this is not quite true.

§ 1. *Optimarum* = 'optimatum,' the conservative party.

3. *Hastam publicam*, 'public auction,' where the property of the proscribed was sold: a spear was set up to mark the place of sale: as to the origin of the custom see Livy 2. 14. Chap. 6.

Nullius rei. He never in any way became farmer of the state revenues, or surety for those who did. The 'manceps' paid a certain sum to the state for the privilege of collecting the revenues, the 'praes' became surety for him if he could not pay.

Subscribens, 'supporter,' by writing his name on the indictment after that of the accuser.

Iudicium nullum habuit, 'he never acted as "iudex."' See Dict. Ant. s. v.

4. *Praefecturas*, 'governorships.'

Asiam: Q. Cicero went as *propraetor* into Asia in 61 B.C.

5. *Observantia*, 'care for their welfare.'

Officio: see c. 4. 1.

- Chap. 7.** § 1. *Incidit*: 49 B.C.
Aetatis vacatione, 'the freedom from service accorded to his age.'
 Military service lasting from 17 to 60.
 2. *Coniunctum*, 'who was a friend of his.'
Offendit, by staying at home.
Ornamentum, 'mark of favour.'
 3. *Imperaret*: cf. Epaminondas 3. 5.
Instituto, 'principles.'
- Chap. 8.** § 1. *Illud occiso Caesare*, 'that condition of affairs after the death of Caesar,' 44 B.C.
Brutos: M. Junius Brutus and D. Junius Brutus.
 2. *Ut ille*, sc. 'uteretur'; cf. Eumenes 1. 1 note.
Adulescens. He was then 42. See Timotheus 4. 2 note.
Principem consilii, 'as his first adviser.'
Convictu, 'daily intercourse.'
 4. *Factione*, 'party spirit.'
Si quid . . . uti: cf. Datames 1. 2 'militare munus fungens.' The accusative of the neuter pronoun is however freely used after intransitive verbs.
Usurum: sc. 'eum'; *collocuturum* below, sc. 'se.'
Consensionis globus, 'knot of associates.' Cf. Vell. 2. 58. 1 'globus coniurationis,' and Sall. Jug. 8. 4 'globus nobilitatis.'
 5. *Provinciarum*, 'commission' to buy corn from the capital, Brutus in Asia, Cassius in Sicily.
Dicis causa, 'for form's sake,' that they might have an excuse for leaving Rome. See on Pelopidas 4. 3. 'Dicis' is an isolated genitive case, the word occurring only in the phrases 'dicis causa' and 'dicis gratia.' The root is the same as that of 'dicere'; cf. λόγου χάριν in the same sense in Greek.
A consule: Antonio; we must suppose the words 'destituta administratione' to have dropped out.
 6. *Iussit dari*: we learn from Cicero that the money was only lent.
- Chap. 9.** § 1. *Mutinam*, a town of Gallia Cispadana, now Modena. After the death of Caesar, in B.C. 44. D. Brutus with three legions was besieged in Mutina by a large army under M. Antonius; the senate sent both the consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, to relieve Brutus (Jan. 43 B.C.). Some very severe fighting took place, in the course of which both the consuls received mortal wounds. Eventually Antonius was compelled to raise the siege.
Divinus, 'prophetic.'
Naturalis bonitas: cf. 'naturali quodam bono' Thrasybulus 1. 3.
 3. *Inimici qui tunc erant potentissimi*. With especial reference to Cicero.
 4. *Volumnio*, a creature of Antony's.

Cum litibus distineretur, 'when she was distracted by lawsuits;'
v. l. 'destinaretur.'

Vadimonium stiterit, 'appeared in court.' '*Vadimonium sistere*' is lit. 'to make the vadimonium (the solemn promise to appear) stand,' as opposed to '*deserere vadimonium*' = 'to break the promise by not appearing.' The phrase is extremely rare; '*facere vadimonium*' being used of making the promise, and '*sistere*' of producing the person in court.

Sponsor: *Atticus*—a very clumsy change of subject.

5. *Secunda fortuna*, ablative absolute, 'while her affairs were prosperous.'

In diem, to be paid for on a certain day.

Aperire, 'to show.'

7. *Sensus*. The MSS. have '*sensim*,' but *Nepos* probably wrote '*sensus*,' i. e. 'his principles' or 'taste,' referring to what has gone before.

Sui iudicii, 'depending on his own judgment;'
genitive after '*ille*.'

§ 2. *Imperatorum*, 'the generals;'
the triumvirs *Antonius*, *Octavius*, Chap. 10.
and *Lepidus*.

Simillimum, 'of the same opinions.'

3. *Ludo*, 'school.'

4. *Ei* depends on '*scripsit*.' '*Ad*' is generally used in the best prose.

Multis hortantibus. The ablative absolute here represents a clause introduced by '*quamvis*,' 'although many exhorted him.'

5. *Ut*: '*ita petiit ut*.'

6. *Incolumitatem*, 'security.'

§ 1. *Se emersit*: '*emergere*' is generally intransitive.

Chap. 11.

Praemiis, ablative of cause.

2. *Qui*, 'for he,' *Atticus*.

Instituerit, 'undertook.'

3. *Et non necessarium*. Not '*nec*,' because '*non necessarium*' is a single idea, 'unnecessary.'

6. *Sui cuique*, etc. This line is taken from an unknown poet. The extant passage most like it is *Plautus*, *Trin.* 2. 2. 86

'*Sapiens ipse fingit fortunam sibi*.'

It is an Iambic line. '*Sui*' is one syllable; the fifth foot is a dactyl. '*Cuique*' is in apposition to '*hominibus*.'

Prius fortunam, 'he formed himself before he made his fortune.'

§ 1. *Caesari*: *Octavianus*, afterwards *Augustus*.

Chap. 12.

Generosarum, those of patrician or senatorial rank.

2. *Celandum*: this is added because *Octavius* and *Antony* afterwards became enemies.

Deprecandis, 'averting by entreaty.'

3. *Perillustre*, 'very evident.'

Attici labore = 'Atticus labore atque industria sua fecit.'

4. Idem. There is no verb expressed, as Nepos changes the construction; he must have intended to write 'expedivit' without the relative. This mixture of constructions is called *anacoluthia*: it naturally occurs most frequently in careless and hasty writers. The other examples in Nepos are in Themistocles 2. 4, Cimon 4. 4, Epaminondas 9. 1.

L. Iulium Calidum. Very likely a personal friend of Nepos. He is not likely to have been really a great poet, as we find nothing else about him in the literature of the time.

Elegantissimum, 'most accomplished.'

Equitum: the knights were especially obnoxious to the triumvirs, as partizans of Caesar's murderers.

Fabrum: 'sappers and miners;' they were attached to each legion. 'Fabrum' is genitive plural, as usual in this phrase.

5. Laboriosius, 'more dangerous.'

Chap. 13. § 1. Neque tamen non, 'nevertheless' he was as well housed as any one.

2. Amoenitas, 'beauty;' the regular sense of the word.

Silva, 'park.'

Salis, 'taste.'

Si quid coactus est: for the omission of the verb cf. Datames 4. 4 'quo studuerat venit;' Epaminondas 4. 3 'cum me non potueris' (conrumpere); and below § 4 'quod a plurimis videas' (concupisci).

3. Litteratissimi, 'very well educated.'

Librarii, 'copyists.'

Apprime boni, 'were first-rate.' 'Apprime' is an old word, not elsewhere used in classical Latin.

4. Factum, 'trained.'

Domi natum. These were called 'vernae.'

Parare, 'to obtain anything.'

5. Elegans, 'tasteful.'

Splendidus, etc., 'brilliant, but not costly.'

6. Quamquam putem. The subjunctive is hypothetical, not governed by 'quamquam.'

Expensum ferre is the regular phrase for 'to enter a sum as paid,' opp. to 'acceptum ferre.'

Chap. 14. § 1. Acroama (ἀκρόαμα), 'performer.'

2. Pari fastigio steterit, 'maintained the same standard.'

3. Hortos, 'pleasure-grounds.'

Reditus. Nepos does not mention that Atticus lent money on usury, copied books at a profit, and dealt in gladiators.

Non magnitudine, 'not only by its amount, but by the manner of its employment.'

§ 1. *Facilitate*, 'affability.'

Chap. 15.

Religiose, 'conscientiously,' i. e. only after scrupulous consideration.

2. *Nitendo*, 'in his exertions.'

In ea re agi, 'was at stake.'

3. *Iudicio*, 'from principle.'

§ 1. *Humanitatis*, 'amiable qualities.'

Chap. 16.

3. *Undecim*: we possess now sixteen: the earliest letters are five years before Cicero's consulship. Perhaps additional letters were published after the death of Atticus.

Contextam, 'continuous.'

4. *Divinationem*, 'power of prophecy.'

Usu veniunt: see on Alcibiades 4. 5.

Cecinit, 'predicted.'

§ 1. *Pietate*, 'affection for his family.'

Chap. 17.

Annorum xc: see on Agesilaus 8. 2.

Annis: this use of the ablative instead of the accusative of duration of time became general in the silver age.

In gratiam redisse: because he had never quarrelled with her.

3. *Doctrina*, 'from principle.'

§ 1. *Ordinavit*. This refers to the 'liber annalis' mentioned in Hannibal 13. 1, and published 47 B.C. It treated of the history of Rome till 54 B.C.

Chap. 18.

2. *Subtexuit*, 'appended.'

Propagines, 'origin;' rarely used in prose, except as a technical term for the 'layers' in vine-growing.

6. *Amplius*. For the omission of 'quam' cf. Themistocles 5. 2.

Consulatu Ciceronis, B.C. 63.

§ 1. *Edita sunt*, 'we had published.'

Chap. 19.

Potuerimus: see note on Pelopidas 1. 2.

2. *Divi filii*, 'son of the divine Julius.'

Imperatoris. This title is perhaps an indication of the date of the last chapters of the book. Octavianus took the title of 'Imperator' in 29 B.C., and that of 'Augustus' in 27, after which he is generally spoken of by the latter name.

Ceperat, 'had won:' cf. Alcibiades 9. 3 'adeo sua cepit humanitate.' 'Dignitate pari,' etc., i. e. in comparison with Augustus.

3. *Caesarem*: Octavianum.

4. *Vix anniculam*, 'hardly a year old.'

Ti. Claudio, afterwards the Emperor Tiberius.

Necessitudinem, 'relationship.'

§ 1. *Quamvis* . . . *misit*: cf. Miltiades 2. 3.

Chap. 20.

2. *Temere*, 'lightly,' 'without good reason.'

5. *Maximarum rerum*, 'about the most important interests.'

§ 2. *Tenesmon*, = *τεινεσμών*.

Chap. 21.

3. *Fistulae puris*, 'ulcers.'

4. *In dies* always implies *increase* from day to day, while 'cottidie' is used of things that happen every day.

6. *Mihi stat*, 'I am resolved.'

Chap. 22. § 2. *Temporibus superesse*, 'get over the crisis.'

4. *Appiam*. This famous high road was made by Appius Claudius Cæcus, censor 312 B.C., from Rome to Capua, and afterwards continued to Brundisium.

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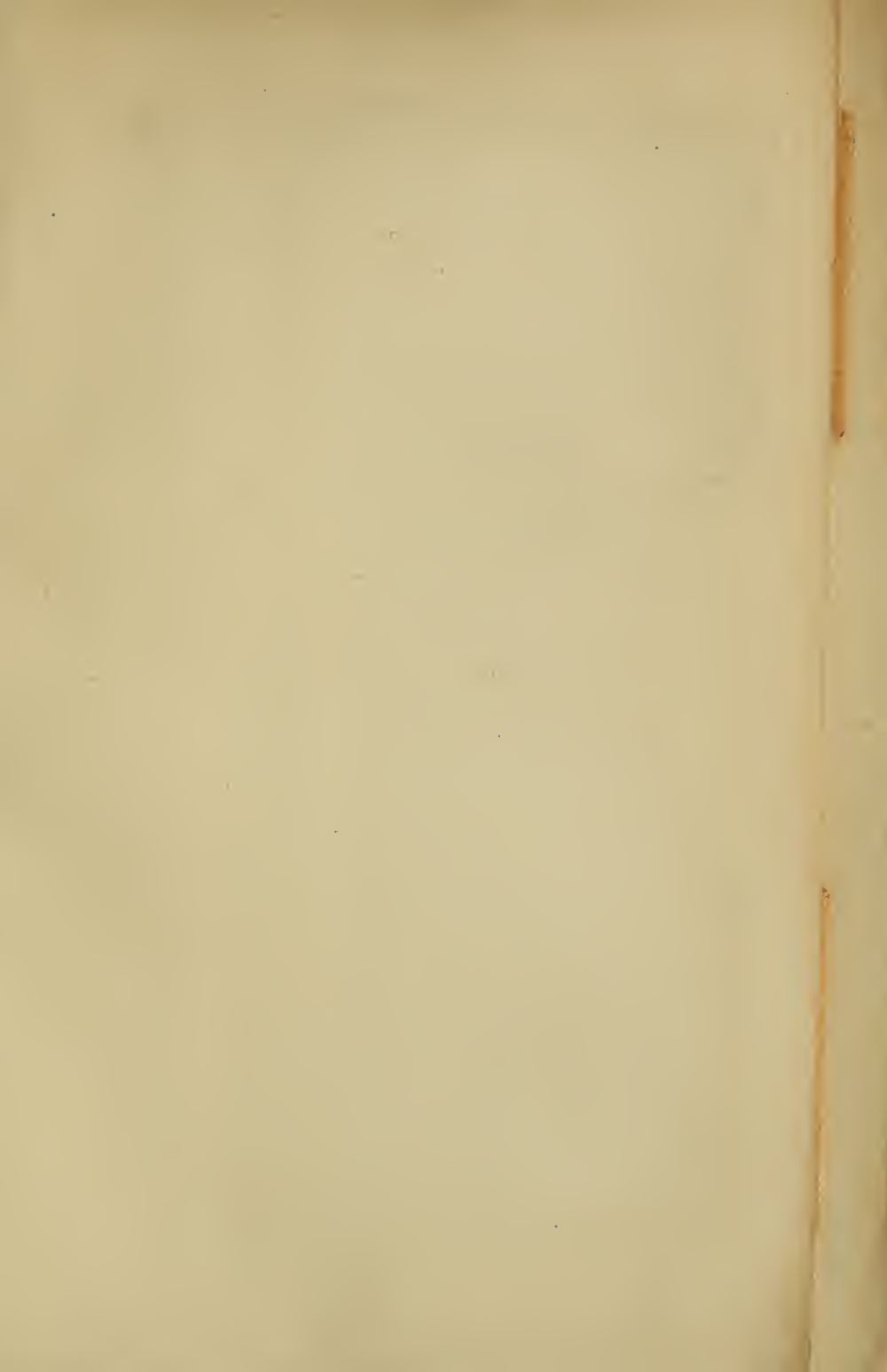
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